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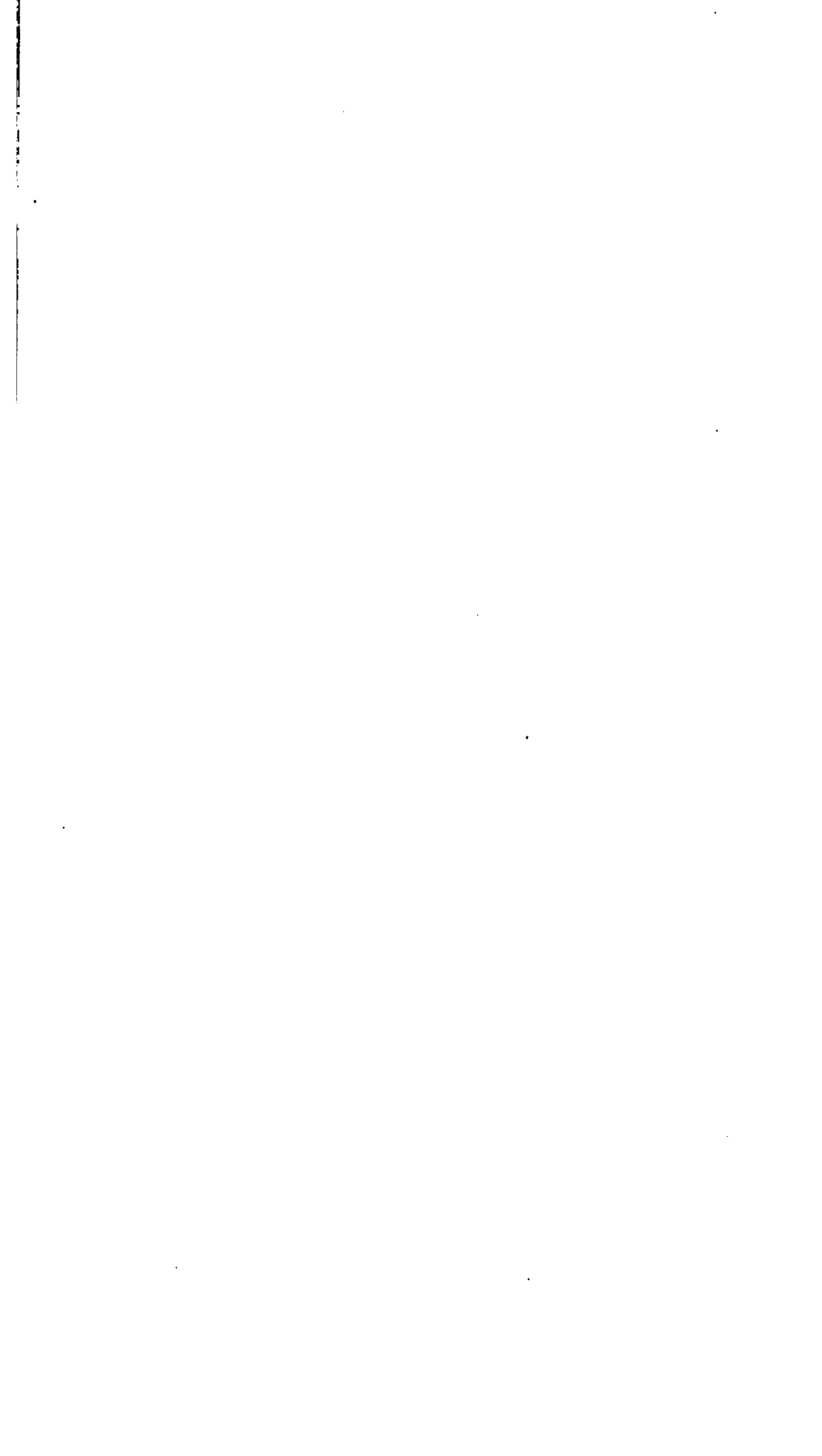
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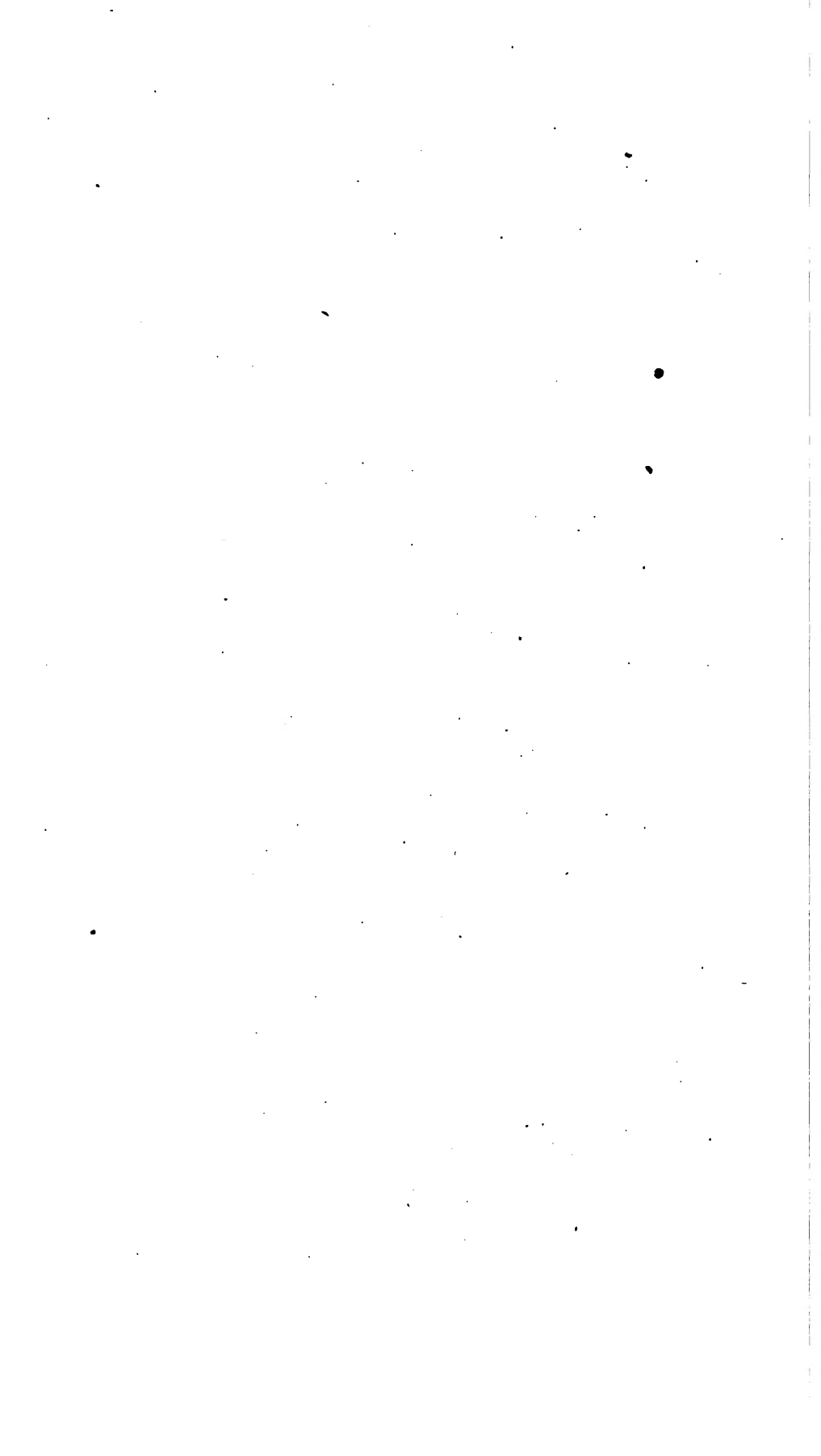


THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REBELLION.

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

Κρῆμα ἐς αἰ. Τbuçyd.

NE QUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NE QUID VERI
NON AUDEAT. *Cicero.*



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND.

Hyde, 1684
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

SOME TIME LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

A NEW EDITION.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIII.

EXOD. ix. 16, 17.

And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people?

THE Marquis of Argyle, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventured into Scotland upon the conditions he had sent, was surpris'd with the account the commissioners had given him, "that his Majesty resolved to embark the next day; that he would leave all his chaplains and his other servants behind him, and only deferred to take the Covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to satisfy the Kirk if they press'd it." Thereupon he immediately dispatched away another vessel with new propositions, which the commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the King's coming into that kingdom, without he likewise consented to those. But that vessel met not

Argyle sends new propositions; which missed the King.

with the King's fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept the King, had held its course more northward, where there are good harbours; and so had put into a harbour near Stirling, that is, within a day's journey of it, but where there was no town nearer than that for his Majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary passengers.

The King
arrives in
Scotland.

From thence notice was sent to the Council of the King's arrival: the first welcome he received was a new demand "that he would sign the Covenant himself, "before he set his foot on shore;" which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imagina-

The King
takes the
Covenant.

tions and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him. The lords of the other party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceived both him and themselves, and that nobody had any authority but those men who were their mortal enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprisoned, or to be removed from the King; but, with his Majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could, what he should do for himself, and what he should do for them, they put themselves on shore before the King disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the King. And shortly after Duke Hamilton retired to the island of Arran, which belonged to himself; where he had a little house well enough accommodated, the island being for the most part inhabited with wild
beasts:

Hamilton
and Lau-
therdale de-
part from
the King.

beasts: Lautherdale concealed himself amongst his friends, taking care both to be well informed of all that should pass about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

The King was received by the Marquis of Argyle Argyle receives the King. with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the English servants he Most of the King's English servants removed from him. had of any quality were removed from his person, the Duke of Buckingham only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were received into the houses of some persons of honour, who lived at a distance from the Court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the King to kiss his hand, and then retired to their houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his servants were not suffered to remain in the kingdom, but were forced presently to re-embark themselves for Holland; amongst which was Daniel O'Neile, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the Marquis of Ormond into Holland, just when his Majesty was ready to embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his Majesty, (as he was a person very generally known), but he was apprehended by order Daniel O'Neile apprehended by order of the Council of Scotland; and banished. from the Council, for being an Irishman, and having been in arms on the late King's behalf in the late war; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom.

They sent away likewise Mr. Robert Long, who was Mr. Long also sent away. his principal, if not only, Secretary of State, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and Sir Edward Walker, who was Clerk of the Council, and had

Their Cler-
gy always
about the
King.

Their ser-
mons be-
fore him.

Argyle's
behaviour
to him.

been Secretary at War during the late war, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other servants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long prayers, and made him observe the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews accustomed to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their prayers and sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels; and bitter invectives against all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity.

He was not present in their councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the government: yet they made great shew of outward reverence to him, and even the chaplains, when they used rudeness and barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better courtier than Argyle; who used all possible address to make himself gracious to the King, entertained him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the King did not only very well like his conversation, but often believed that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his Majesty made any attempt to get some of his servants about him, or to reconcile the two factions, that the kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one proposition that was made to him by
his

his Majesty. In a word, the King's table was well served; there he sat in majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good horses to ride abroad to take the air, and was then well attended; and, in all public appearances, seemed to want nothing that was due to a great king. In all other respects, with reference to power to oblige or gratify any man, to dispose or order any thing, or, himself to go to any other place than was assigned to him, he had nothing of a prince, but might very well be looked upon as a prisoner.

But that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all nations and states; the other of disrespect or restraint was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was considered only as a faction between particular great men, who contended to get the power into their hands; that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The King's condition seemed wonderfully advanced, and his being possessed of a kingdom without a rival, in which there was no appearance of an enemy, looked like an earnest for the recovery of the other two, and, for the present, as a great addition of power to him in his kingdom of Ireland, by a conjunction and absolute submission of all the Scots in Ulster to the Marquis of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant there.

All men who had dissuaded his Majesty's repair into Scotland were looked upon as very weak politicians, or as men who opposed the public good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design valued themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that service. The States of Holland thought they had

merited much in suffering their ships to transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all countenance to the Scottish merchants and factors who lived in their dominions, and some secret credit, that they might send arms and ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the King's service, into that kingdom. France itself looked very cheerfully upon the change; congratulated the Queen with much ceremony, and many professions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a share in the counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in Scotland, by their influence upon Argyle and his party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a reputation this little dawning of power, how clouded soever, gave to the ambassadors in Spain, and had raised them from such a degree of disrespect, as was near to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that Court that was due to the station in which they were.

There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the affection of that Court, and indeed of the nation. As Don Alonzo de Cardinas had used all the credit he had, to dispose that Court to a good correspondence with the Parliament, so he had employed as much care to incline those in England to have a confidence in the affection of his master, and assured them, "that if they would send an ambassador or other minister into Spain, he should find a good reception." The Parliament, in the infancy of their Commonwealth, had more inclination to make a friendship with Spain than with France, having at that time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from Don Alonzo, they resolved to send
an

an envoy to Madrid; and made choice of one Ascham, Ascham sent agent into Spain from the Parliament of England. a scholar, who had been concerned in drawing up the King's trial, and had written a book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the allegiance which is due from subjects to their sovereigns comes to be determined after a conquest; and that from that term it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: a speculation they thought fit to cherish.

This man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in language, attended by three others, the one a renegade Franciscan friar, who had been bred in Spain, and was well versed in the language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a secretary; and the third, an inferior fellow for any service, arrived all in Spain in an English merchant's ship: of which Don Alonzo gave such timely notice, that he was received and entertained by the chief magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The town was quickly full of the rumour, that an ambassador was landed from England, and would be received there; which nobody seemed to be well pleased with. And the ambassadors expostulated with Don Lewis de Haro The ambassadors there expostulate with Don Lewis about it. with some warmth, "that his Catholic Majesty should be the first Christian Prince that would receive an ambassador from the odious and execrable murderers of a Christian King, his brother and ally; which no other Prince had yet done, out of the detestation of that horrible parricide." And therefore they desired him, "that Spain would not give so infamous an example to the other parts of the world." Don Lewis assured them, "that there was no such thing as an am- His answer. bassador coming from England, nor had the King any purpose to receive any: that it was true, they were informed that there was an English gentleman

“ landed at Cales, and come to Seville; who said, he was
“ sent from the Parliament with letters for the King ;
“ which was testified by a letter from Don Alonzo de
“ Cardinas to the Duke of Medina Celi; who there-
“ upon had given order for his entertainment at Seville,
“ till the King should give further order : that it was
“ not possible for the King to refuse to receive the let-
“ ter, or to see the man who brought it; who pretended
“ no kind of character : that having an ambaffador re-
“ siding in England to preserve the trade and commerce
“ between the two nations, they did believe, that this
“ messenger might be sent with some propositions from
“ the English merchants for the advancement of that
“ trade; and if they should refuse to hear what he said,
“ it might give a just offence, and destroy all the com-
“ merce; which would be a great damage to both na-
“ tions.”

That this new agent might come securely to Madrid, an old officer of the army was sent from Seville to accompany him thither; who came with him in the coach, and gave notice every night to Don Lewis of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the English merchants, many officers and soldiers in Madrid, who had served in the Spanish armies, both in Catalonia and in Portugal; and these men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an agent from the new republic of England; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the town to meet him; but, missing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next morning; and finding, accidentally, one of the ambaf-
fador's

sador's servants in the streets, they persuaded him to go with them, and so went to the house where Ascham lodged; and, without asking any questions, walked directly up the stairs into his chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the house, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up drew their swords; and besides their intentions, in disorder, killed the friar as well as the agent; and so returned to their companions with their swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a justifiable service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the people were so little concerned to enquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary: only he who was in the service of the ambassadors separated himself from the rest, and went into the house of the Venetian ambassador. By this time the people of the house where the man lay had gone up into the chamber; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the bed; and the magistrates and people were about the church, and talking with and examining the persons who were there: and the rumour was presently divulged about the town, "that one of the English ambassadors was killed."

Ascham
killed by
some officers
at his
lodgings in
Madrid.

All but one
fly to a
chapel for
sanctuary;
he, to the
Venetian
ambassador's.

They were at that time entering into their coach to take the air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had passed, and that Harry Progers, who was their servant, had been in the action, and was retired to the house of the Venetian ambassador, they were in trouble

which the Court itself hath sometime thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the character; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compassion all the ambassadors looked upon these unhappy gentlemen, who had involved themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the English ambassadors to advise and consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his assistance. The action could in no degree be justified; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the privilege of sanctuary; "They had betaken themselves to the church; and the taking them from thence, by what authority soever, was a violation of the rights and immunities of the church, which, by the law of the kingdom, was ever defended with all tenderness." So that, before the guilt of the blood could be examined, the prisoners desired "that their privilege might be examined, and that they might have counsel assigned them to that purpose;" which was granted; and several arguments were made upon the matter of law before the judges; who were favourable enough to the prisoners. The King's counsel urged, "that in case of assassination the privilege of sanctuary was never allowed," (which is true), and cited many precedents of late years in Madrid itself, where, for less crimes than of blood, men had been taken out of the sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The English ambassadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new republic should receive so much countenance from that Court, as would have

have resulted from putting those gentlemen to death, as if they had killed a public minister. The Pope's Nuncio, Julio Rospigliosi, who was afterwards Clement IX. could not, according to the style of the Roman Court, either give or receive visits from the English ambassadors; but they performed civilities to each other by messages, and passed mutual salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad. And the Venetian ambassador brought them frequent assurances, "that the Nuncio had spoken very effectually to the King, and to Don Lewis, for the re-delivery of the prisoners to the church, and pressed it so hard upon the conscience of the King, that he had some promise that they should not suffer."

The Nuncio Rospigliosi required them to be delivered back.

In the mean time, thundering letters came from the Parliament, with great menaces what they would do, if exemplary justice was not inflicted upon those who had murdered their envoy; and Don Alonzo urged it, as if "he thought himself in danger till full satisfaction should be given in that particular;" all which for the present made deep impression, so that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring, "that he would not infringe the privilege of the church, and so undergo the censure of the Pope, for any advantage he could receive with reference to any of his dominions."

In the end, (that the discourse of this affair may not be resumed again hereafter), after a long imprisonment, (for during the ambassadors' stay they would not bring them to any trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their solicitation), the prisoners were proceeded against as soon, or shortly after the ambassadors had left Madrid, and were all condemned to die; and as soon as the sentence was declared, all the prisoners were again delivered into the same church; where they remained

The issue of this business after the ambassadors' departure.

mained many days, having provisions of victuals sent to them by many persons of quality, until they had all opportunity to make their escape, which was very successfully done by all but one; who, being the only Protestant amongst them, was more maliciously looked after and watched, and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three days journey from Madrid, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the satisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that affair; and is an instance how far that people was from any affection to those of England in their hearts, how much soever they complied with them out of the necessity of their fortune.

When some weeks were passed after that unlucky accident, the ambassadors went to confer with Don Lewis upon some other occurrence, with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the prisoners. Don Lewis spoke of it in a manner they did not expect; one expression was, "*Yo tengo invidia de estos Cavaleros &c.* I envy those gentlemen for having done so noble an action, how penal soever it may prove to them, to revenge the blood of their King. Whereas," he said, "the King his master wanted such resolute subjects; otherwise he would never have lost a kingdom, as he had done Portugal, for want of one brave man; who, by taking away the life of the usurper, might at any time, during the first two years, have put an end to that rebellion."

To return now to the affairs of Scotland: whether, when the Marquis of Argyle first knew that the King would venture himself into Scotland, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his friend Cromwell to assist him; or whether it seemed more reasonable to the Parliament, when it was assured of the King's being there,

there, to visit him in that kingdom, than to expect a visit from him, is not enough clear at this time. But as soon as the King was in Scotland, Cromwell, being sent for by the Parliament, left what remained to be done in Ireland to Ireton, (who had married his daughter,) and made him deputy; and transported himself into England; where the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the Presbyterian party, resolved to send an army into Scotland. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable war, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up and increase the power and authority of the army in England; which was already found to be very grievous.

This resolution produced another great alteration; Fairfax, who had hitherto worn the name of General, declared positively that he would not command the army against Scotland. The Presbyterians said, "it was because he thought the war unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same religion;" but his friends would have it believed, that he would not fight against the King. Hereupon Cromwell was chosen General; which made no alteration in the army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced and suppressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by Fairfax. The Independents had all credit about him; and the churches and pulpits were open to all kind of people who would shew their gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in religion covered the whole kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the people, who, finding no ease from the burdens they had so long sustained,

The Scots
raise an
army
against
him.

tained, but an increase of the taxes and impositions every day, grew weary of their new government; and heartily prayed, that their General might never return from Scotland, but that, he being destroyed there, the King might return victorious into London. The bitterness and prosecution against their brethren in England, and the old animosity they had long borne against the person of Cromwell, made those in authority in that kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his invasion, and to draw together a very numerous body of men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but courage and conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this army, that they suffered few or no officers, or soldiers, who had been in the engagement of Duke Hamilton, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the King or to the Hamiltonian party, to be listed or received into their service. So that they had only some old discredited officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of command, had stuck close to Argyle and to the party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole army was under the government of a committee of the Kirk and the State; in which the ministers exercised the sole authority, and prayed and preached against the vices of the Court, and the impiety and tyranny of Cromwell, equally; and promised their army victory over the enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The King desired that he might command this army, at least run the fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the common soldiers seemed to be much pleased to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place

place at a greater distance from the army ; declaring, “ that they found the soldiers too much inclined to put “ their confidence in the arm of flesh ; whereas their “ hope and dependence was to be only in God ; and “ they were most assured of victory by the prayers and “ piety of the Kirk.”

In July Cromwell entered Scotland, and marched Cromwell enters Scotland. without any opposition till he came within less than a day's journey of Edinburgh ; where he found the Scottish army encamped upon a very advantageous ground ; and he made his quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the country was so destroyed behind him, and the passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his provision for horse and foot from England by sea ; inasmuch as the army was reduced to great straits ; and the Scots really believed, that they had them all at their mercy, except such as would embark on board their ships. But as soon as Cromwell had recovered some provisions, his army begun to remove, and seemed to provide for their march. Whether that march was to retire out of so barren a country for want of provisions, (which no doubt were very scarce ; and the season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary supplies by sea, for it was now the month of September), or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the Scots had remained within their trenches, and sent parties of horse to have followed the English army closely, they must have so disordered them, that they would have left their cannon and all their heavy carriage behind them, besides the danger the foot must have been in. But the Scots

The distress of Cromwell's army.

did not intend to part with them so easily ; they doubted not but to have the spoil of the whole army. And therefore they no sooner discerned that the English were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole body all the night following, and found themselves in the morning within a small distance of the enemy : for Cromwell was quickly advertised that the Scottish army was dislodged, and marched after him ; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his men in good order. The Scots found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagined, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a hill, as they believed the English would not have the courage to attack them there.

Cromwell
entirely
routs the
Scots in
the battle
of Dunbar.

But Cromwell knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no trenches or fortifications to keep him from them ; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage-ground soever they stood. Their horse did not sustain one charge ; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The foot depended much upon their ministers, who preached, and prayed, and assured them of the victory, till the English were upon them ; and some of their preachers were knocked in the head, whilst they were promising the victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that Cromwell lost very few men by that day's service, yet the execution was very terrible upon the enemy ; the whole body of the foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces ; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing ; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place ; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their horse, were without terrible wounds ; of which very many died shortly after ; especially such of their ministers

ministers who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage, were entirely taken, and Cromwell with his victorious army marched directly to Edinburgh; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his army, which stood in need of it.

Cromwell
enters
Edinburgh.

Never victory was attended with less lamentations: for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph in the total defeat and destruction of the only army that was in Scotland; which defeat had put a great part of that kingdom, and the chief city of it, under his obedience; so the King, who was then at St. Johnston's, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his Majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered already: for the Lord Lorne, eldest son to the Marquis of Argyle, being captain of his guard, had so watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this defeat, they all looked upon the King as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his servants, who had been sequestered from him from his arrival in the kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some ministers begun to preach obedience to the King; the officers, who had been cashiered for their malignity, talked aloud of "the miscarriages in

The King
gets advan-
tage by this.

“ the government, and that the kingdom was betrayed
“ to the enemy for want of confidence in the King,
“ who alone could preserve the nation.” They of the Council seemed not to have so absolute a dependence upon the Marquis of Argyle, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the Marquis applied himself more to the King, and to those about him: so that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as Cromwell, though his Majesty’s advantage was discerned by a few men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The destruction of the only army, and the possessing of Edinburgh, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole kingdom.

Don Alonzo made haste to send the news into Spain of “ the total and irrecoverable defeat of the King; that “ he was driven into the Highlands; from whence he “ would be compelled to fly, as soon as he could get “ means to escape: that the Republic was now settled, “ and no more fear or hope of the King:” the effect of all which the ambassadors quickly found at Madrid, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that the common people appeared to have a much more generous sense of the alteration, than the others did. The ambassadors received shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and “ that the King thought his condition much improved by the defeat;” and they used all the means they could, by several audiences, to inform the King of Spain and Don Lewis of the truth; and “ that they “ were misinformed, as if the army overthrown was the “ King’s; whereas they were indeed as much his enemies, as Cromwell’s was.” But in this they could obtain

obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wished they were gone ; which they were resolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King ; and told them, " that they " had been now above a year in that Court, where they " had been well treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might very justly have incensed his Catholic Majesty," (mentioning the death of Afcham) ; " that they were extraordinary ambassadors, and so " needed not any letters of revocation ; that they had " received answers to all they had proposed, and were " at liberty to depart ; which his Catholic Majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the Court " would be very prejudicial to his affairs." This unexpected and unusual message, delivered ungracefully enough by an old man, who, notwithstanding his office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe " that he had mistaken his message, at " least that he had delivered it with less courtly circumstances than he ought to have done." And therefore they returned no other answer, than " that " they would attend Don Lewis de Haro, and understand from him the King's pleasure." The next day, they sent for an audience to Don Lewis ; whom they found with a less open countenance than he used to have ; nor did he appear any thing more courtly than the Secretary had done ; but told them, that there were orders sent to such a person (whom he named) to prepare their present ; which should be ready within very few days ; and pressed them very plainly, and without any regard to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of January, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that re-

The Secretary of State brings a message from the King of Spain to the ambassadors, to desire them to be gone.

They apply to Don Lewis.

The reason
of their be-
ing pressed
to depart
Madrid in
such haste.

spect, did exceedingly concern the service of the King. This made the ambassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal ambassador upon his way from England, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the town as many pictures, and other choice and rich furniture, as did load eighteen mules; which, as was said before, Don Alonzo had bought of the King's goods, and then sent to the Groyne, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the palace, whilst the ambassadors should continue and remain in the town.

This injunction to leave Madrid, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the ambassadors. The Lord Cottington was at this time seventy-six years of age, once or twice in a year troubled with the gout, in other respects of great vigour of body and mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolved, when he first proposed this embassy to the King, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into England, by the time that his embassy should expire, he would remain and die in Spain. But he did then believe that he should have found another kind of entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserved very well from that nation, having always performed those offices towards them, which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that people, which, together with his constant opposition of the French, had rendered him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they de-

desired, and expected; as when their fleet, under the command of Oquendo, about the year 1639, had been assaulted in the Downs, and defeated by the Dutch fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their ambassadors, who were then in England, whereof Don Alonzo was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do himself harm, and could do them no good. But these omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in Spain, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of all the discouragement he had met with in that Court, (though he was willing the other ambassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from what had passed in England), which was then remembered in the discourse of the Court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that kingdom to the Church of Rome, and had constantly gone to the mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in England to be of the religion of the Church of England, he was apostatized from the

other; which, in that country, is looked upon as such a brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that King's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any enquiry into religion to inform himself, but had conformed to that which the province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in England of being well affected to that Church, and was always looked upon as most inclined to the Roman, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at prayers and sermons, and sometimes receiving the sacrament, as he did the very last Sunday he stayed in the Hague before he begun his journey towards Spain; and, even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the common prayers both morning and evening, by their own chaplain, in their house, as long as the chaplain lived: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in England, he would have died in the communion of that Church. But there is no doubt, he did resolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in Spain, that he would become a Roman Catholic again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the house, he found, that after an apostasy, as they termed it, it was not in the power of any priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserved to the Pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuncios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other ambassador; towards whom this was the only secret he reserved. And he found a way,

as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the Nuncio had sent him such and such messages by that Jesuit concerning those gentlemen who were in prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the Venetian ambassador had formerly delivered from him: at last, he told him, "that he found " the Nuncio had somewhat to say in that affair which " he would not communicate by message, but wished to " speak with him in private; for publicly he must not " be known to have any conference with him; and that " hereupon he resolved to go *incognito* in Sir Benjamin " Wright's coach to him:" which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home, making such a relation of their conference to his companion as he thought fit; and delivered the Nuncio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the affair was: for, besides that the Nuncio could not perform the office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other ambassador might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the President de la Hazienda, who carried them into his library, whilst the other ambassador was casting his eyes upon some books, (it being the best private library in Madrid), the Lord Cottington told the President, "that he was himself a Catholic, but " that his companion was an obstinate Heretic:" of which the President sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another;

The Lord Cottington resolves to stay as a private man in Spain.

other ; which was, his having permission to stay in that country ; for which he addressed himself to Don Lewis ; mentioned “ his age ; his infirmity of the gout ; which “ would infallibly seize upon him, if, in that season of “ the year, he should provoke it by an extraordinary mo- “ tion ; in a word, that it was impossible for him to “ make the journey.” Don Lewis told him, “ he could “ answer him to part of what he said without speaking to “ the King ; that he must not think of staying with the “ character of an ambassador, nor of residing in Madrid, in “ how private a condition soever : if he desired any thing “ with these two restraints, he would move the King in it.” The other told him, “ that he submitted to both these “ conditions ; and only desired licence to reside in Valla- “ dolid, where he had lived many years, when the Court “ remained there, in the time of King Philip the third.”

This place was not disliked ; and within few days, Don Lewis sent him word, “ that the King approved it ; “ and that he should have a letter to the chief-magis- “ trate there, to treat him with all respect ; and that his “ Majesty would take care that he should not undergo “ any distress, but would supply him as his necessities “ required.” And, shortly after, a message was sent to the ambassadors to let them know, that the King had appointed such a day for to give them an audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraor- dinary as the former ; however, they performed their ceremonies ; and about the beginning of March, after they had been in that Court near fifteen months, they both left Madrid in the same hour : the Lord Cotting- ton taking his course for Valladolid ; where he had the same house provided, and made ready for him by the care of the English Jesuits there, in which he had

The am- bassadors have au- dience of leave.

The Lord Cottington lives at Valladolid till he dies.

dwelt

dwelt at the time of his agency, when the Court resided there ; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his age.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds ; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way : for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frightened with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science ; but by his perfectly understanding the Spanish, (which he spoke as a Spaniard), the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and above all in all kind of plantations and arts of husbandry. He was born a gentleman both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire seat near Bruton in Somersetshire, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from father to son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his elder brother's children, the family having been always Roman Catholic. His mother was a Stafford, nearly allied to Sir Edward Stafford ; who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, and had been ambassador in France ; by whom this gentleman was brought up, and was gentleman of his horse, and left one of his executors of his will, and by him recommended to Sir Robert Cecil, then principal Secretary of State ; who preferred him to Sir Charles Conwallis, when he went ambassador into Spain, in the beginning of the reign of King

King James; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into England in all that time. He raised by his own virtue and industry a very fair estate, of which though the revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good houses, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly, well served and attended in his house; had a better stable of horses, better provision for sports, (especially of hawks, in which he took great delight), than most of his quality, and lived always with great splendour; for though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts, than love to his person.

The other
ambassa-
dor dis-
missed very
courte-
ously.

The other ambassador was dismissed with much more courtesy: for when they heard that his family remained at Antwerp in Flanders, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he received other orders from the King his master, they gave him all dispatches thither which might be of use to him in those parts.

The

The King of Spain himself used many gracious expressions to him at his last audience, and sent afterwards to him a letter for the Archduke Leopold; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the ambassador; and commanded, "that, whilst he should choose to reside in those parts, under his government, he should receive all respect, and enjoy all privileges as an ambassador:" and Don Lewis de Haro writ likewise to the Archduke, and the Count of Fuensaldagna, "to look upon him as his particular friend:" all which ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the ambassador: for besides the treatment he received from the Archduke himself in Brussels, as ambassador, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the magistrates at Antwerp, that he enjoyed the privilege of his chapel, and all the English, who were numerous then in that city, repaired thither with all freedom for their devotion, and the exercise of their religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any man there, and which the English, and Irish priests, and the Roman Catholics of those nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage through France he waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which Cromwell had obtained in Scotland (though the King was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the Court of Spain; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled France very much, and no less pleased Spain; which

In his passage through France he waits on the Queen Mother.

The death
of the
Prince of
Orange.

which was the death of the Prince of Orange; a young prince of great hope and expectation, and of a spirit that desired to be in action. He had found, that the peace between Spain and the Low Countries, which his father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the war. He complained loudly, that the Court of Spain had not observed, nor performed, many of those conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adhered to that party in the States which were known most to favour the interest of France; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other ministers of that Crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate: and Spain was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that alteration, and with the conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepared at Madrid to be sent to him, ten brave Spanish horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of plate, jewels, and perfumed leather, to the Princess Royal his wife; and a full assurance, "that they would forthwith begin to perform all the articles which were to be done by them, and finish all within a short time."

The express, who was appointed to accompany the present,

present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his journey within two days, when the news arrived, by an express from Brussels, who came in as short a time as could be imagined, that the Prince of Orange was dead of the small pox, and had left the Princess with child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a son within few days after his decease. The Court at Madrid could not conceal its joy, nor disseminate their opinion, that the enemy whose influence they most apprehended was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, France owned a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their friends in Holland, might, in a short time, be much superior to that party in the States which adhered to the Spanish interest.

His Princess delivered of a son shortly after.

But nobody received so insupportable prejudice and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of Great Britain did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken affection and friendship, that hath ever been performed towards any person under any signal misfortune. Besides the assisting him, upon several emergent occasions, with greater sums of money than were easy to his incumbered fortune, his reputation, and his declared resolution, "that he would venture all he had in that quarrel," disposed many to be more concerned for his Majesty. Though he could not prevail over that faction in Holland, which were known to favour Cromwell, (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his power and greatness,) to induce them to serve the King, yet he kept the States General from consenting to that infamous alliance and conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they entered into with the new Republic; and

The King lost a sure friend in the Prince.

and which they would never have yielded to, if he had lived. And, no doubt, the respect both France and Spain had for him, and his interposition, had prevailed with both to be more restrained than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all consideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent farewell the ambassadors had received in Spain: for the news of the Prince's death had arrived there some time before their departure; and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in France of any possible hope for our King, but very much lessened the respect and civility which that Court had always shewed to the Queen herself, as a daughter of France; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

Touching
the Duke of
York left
with the
Queen.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majesty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from Spain. Upon the interview which had been between the King and the Queen at Beauvais, when the King went for Holland, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own person into Scotland, he had left his brother the Duke of York with the Queen, with direction, "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his mother, matters of religion only excepted." And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her commands, because, besides his piety and duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her bounty for his support; the Court of France not taking any notice of this increase of her expence, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness in her nature, so

to

to supply him as to make his condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same austere carriage towards him, which she had done to the Prince his brother, and as unsuccessfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and consisting of persons who loved not one another, nor their master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that credit with him, that, at such an age, some good men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his escape out of England, as is mentioned before, he had only one person attending him, (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his service), whose merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appeared to be so unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that such persons should have been placed about him, as might have both discovered such infirmities, as his nature might incline him to, and have infused those principles of virtue and honour, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present misfortune, as for his highest dignity. But that province was wholly committed to the Queen his mother by the late King, who was then in prison; and her Majesty being then at Paris, when the Duke landed in Holland, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject required; and so was persuaded by others to consider them more than her son; and made haste to put such a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the offices which they were designed to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger son of the Crown of England could pretend,

pretend, by the usage and custom of that kingdom, when it was in the greatest splendour; and all this, when there was not in view the least revenue to support it, but that the whole charge and burthen of it must inevitably fall upon her; of which her Majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The Duke was full of spirit and courage, and naturally loved designs, and desired to engage himself in some action that might improve and advance the low condition of the King his brother; towards whom he had an inviolable affection and fidelity, superior to any temptation. He was not pleased with the treatment he received in France, nor had confidence enough in any of his servants, to be advised by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any enterprise which his own passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own condition to him; “the little regard
“the Queen appeared to have of him, the lustre that
“some of her servants lived in, and those who depended upon them, whilst his Royal Highness wanted
“all that was necessary, and his servants were exposed
“to the most scandalous necessities and contempt;” which suggestions, by degrees, began to abate that reverence in him to the Queen his mother, to which he was very dutifully inclined.

There were at that time two persons, who, though without any relation to the Court, very much frequented the Duke's lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, Sir Edward Herbert, the late King's Attorney General, (of whom much is said before), and Sir George

Sir Edward
Herbert
and Sir G.
Ratcliff
have great
interest in
him.

George Ratcliff, who had been designed by that King to attend upon the Duke of York into Ireland, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his service there. The Duke looked upon them both as wise men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to persuade him to dislike the condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other place than in France. They spoke often to him of the Duke of Lorraine, "as a ^{They re-} pattern and example for all unfortunate Princes to ^{commend} follow: that he being, by the power and injustice of ^{to him the} the King of France, driven out of his principality and ^{pattern of} dominions, had, by his own virtue and activity, put ^{the Duke} himself in the head of an army; by which he made himself so considerable, that he was courted by both the Crowns of France and Spain, and might make his conditions with either according to his own election; and in the mean time lived with great reputation, and in great plenty, esteemed by all the world for his courage and conduct." With these, and the like discourses, the Duke was much pleased and amused, and wished in himself that he could be put into such a condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been proposed to him, whose condition was more unlike his, or whose fortune and manners he was less to wish to follow, or less able to imitate. For the Duke of Lorraine had, for many years before his ^{The Duke} misfortunes, had a great name in war, and was looked ^{of Lor-} upon as one of the greatest captains of Christendom; ^{rain's cha-} and had drawn the arms and power of France upon ^{raiser.} him,

him, by his inconstancy, and adhering to Spain, contrary to his treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and when he was driven out of his own country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good army, and possessed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into Flanders, both as his misfortune proceeded from his affection to their King, and as his forces were necessary for their defence. And so he made such conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself, and yet, in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the same footsteps.

The King
believed in
France to
be dead.

With the report of the defeat of that army by Cromwell in Scotland, (which was the first good fortune to the King), or shortly after, some letters from England brought intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerously sick; and shortly after, that he was dead; which was believed in England, and from thence transmitted into France. This gave a new alarm to those two gentlemen mentioned before, who received this information from such friends in England, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in; and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirmed and believed.

The Duke
of York ac-
quaints his
mother that
he will go
to Brussels;
whither he
goes.

Whether they imparted this nice consideration to the Duke or not, his Highness, without any preface of the motives, told the Queen, "he was resolved to make a journey to Brussels;" who, being exceedingly surprised, asked him the reason; and "how he could be able to make such a journey?" which she in truth be-

believed impossible for him, since she knew he had no money. His answer in short was, "that he would visit the Duke of Lorrain, who had been always a friend to his father, and continued his affection to the King his brother; and he had some reason to believe, that Duke would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his Majesty's service; and that he was resolved to begin his journey the next day;" from which neither the Queen's advice nor authority could divert him. Her Majesty quickly discerned, that neither the Lord Byron, nor Sir John Berkeley, nor Mr. Bennet, his Secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded who the counsellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could to lessen the Duke's esteem of them. They well foresaw that the want of money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the journey would be rendered impossible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own store, procured as much as would defray the journey to Brussels; which, by the Duke's directions, was put into the hands of Sir George Ratcliff, and to be managed by his providence and discretion. And then he publicly declared his resolution to begin his journey the next day for Brussels, leaving his servants to make what shift they could to stay there, or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the Queen thought it necessary that his chief servants should wait on him, that she might receive an account what progress he made, and what his design could be: so the Lord Byron and Mr. Bennet made themselves ready for the journey; Sir John Berkeley choosing to stay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exercised the supreme charge. And so, with the other two counsel-

lors, and many of the inferior servants, the Duke, according to his resolution, left the Queen ; and, when he came to Bruffels, he lodged at the house of Sir Henry de Vic, the King's Resident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two counsellors began to form his family, and to confer offices upon those who were most acceptable to them ; presuming that they should shortly receive news from England, which would confirm all that they had done under other titles. In the mean time the government of the house, and ordering the expence, was committed wholly to Sir George Ratcliff, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the councils, and directing all the politic designs. The Duke of Lorrain had visited the Duke upon his first arrival, and, being informed of the straits his Royal Highness was in, presented him with one thousand pistoles. But now the secret ground of all their counsels was found to be without any reality : the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face ; which destroyed all the machine they had raised : yet, being too far embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of Lorrain had shewed towards the Duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a marriage between the Duke of York and the daughter of the Duke of Lorrain by the Countess of Canteeroy ; whom he had publicly married, but which marriage was declared at Rome to be void, by reason that his former wife was still alive.

His two
counsellors
propose a
match for
him with
the Duke of
Lorrain's
bastard
daughter.

When the Duke of Lorrain saw how the affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who were men well bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof

was

was his Governor and the other his Secretary, who by their offices ought to be more trusted in an affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two persons, who were men of a very unusual mien, appeared in it, and that only Sir George Ratcliff undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in Latin, which the Duke cared not to speak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approved by his Majesty." Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to stay longer at Bruffels, they persuaded the Duke to visit his sister at the Hague, and there to consider and advise what was next to be done.

The Duke
visits his
sister at the
Hague.

Of all these particulars the Queen complained to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two gentlemen, whose fidelity to the King she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she required him, "that, as soon as he should come into Flanders, he would make a journey to the Hague, and prevail with the "Duke" (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "to return again to Paris;" which the Chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that sally had administered, as if there were a schism in the royal family in a season when so much union was requisite.

There was another instance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the Court of France could express towards him, and of which all the Protestant party of the Queen's family complained very

vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in France, the late King had appointed a chaplain of his own, Dr. Cofins, who was afterwards Bishop of Durham, to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her household, the number of her Protestant servants being much superior to those who were Roman Catholics. And the Queen had always punctually complied with the King's directions, and used the chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her servants. An under room in the Louvre, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their morning and evening devotions; the key whereof was committed to the chaplain; who caused the room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the Prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his devotions all the week, but went Sundays still to the Resident's house to hear sermons.

Dr. Cofins
forbid to of-
ficiate to the
Protestants
in the
Queen's
family at
Paris.

At this time an order was sent from the Queen Regent, "that that room should be no more applied to that purpose, and that the French King would not permit the exercise of any other religion in any of his houses than the Roman Catholic:" and the Queen gave notice to the chaplain, "that she was no longer able to continue the payment of the exhibition she had formerly assigned to him." The Protestants, whereof many were of the best quality, lamented this alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into Spain, she had vouchsafed to promise him, (upon some rumours, of which he took notice), "that the same privilege which had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by the Protestants of her household; and that she would
" provide

“provide for the chaplain’s subsistence.” He pre-
 sumed therefore to speak with her Majesty upon it; and
 besought her to consider, “what ill impressi^{on} this
 “new order would make upon the Protestants of all the
 “King’s dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to de-
 “pend for his restoration; and how much prejudice it
 “might be to herself, to be looked upon as a greater
 “enemy to Protestants, than she had been taken notice
 “of to be; and likewise, whether this order, which had
 “been given since the departure of the Duke of York,
 “might not be made use of as an excuse for his not re-
 “turning, or indeed for his going away at first, since
 “the precise time when it issued would not be gene-
 “rally understood.” The Queen heard him very gra-
 ciously, and acknowledged, “that what he said had rea-
 “son in it; but protested that she knew not what re-
 “medy to apply to it; that she had been herself sur-
 “prised with that order, and was troubled at it; but that
 “the Queen Regent was positive in it, and blamed her
 “for want of zeal in her religion; and that she cared
 “not to advance it, or to convert any of her children.”
 She wished him “to confer with Mr. Mountague upon
 “it;” and implied, “that his bigotry in his new reli-
 “gion had contributed much to the procuring that or-
 “der.” He had newly taken orders, and was become
 Priest in that Church, and had great power with the
 Queen Regent, as well for his animosity against that re-
 ligion he had professed, as for his vehement zeal for the
 Church of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her
 Majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sus-
 tained by the death of her old confessor, Father Phillips;
 who, she said, “was a prudent and discreet man; and
 “would never suffer her to be pressed to any passionate
 “undertakings, under pretence of doing good for Ca-
 “tholics;

The Chan-
 cellor
 speaks with
 the Queen
 about it.

The
 Queen’s
 answer.

“tholics; and always told her, that, as she ought to
 “continue firm and constant to her own religion, so she
 “was to live well towards the Protestants, who deserved
 “well from her, and to whom she was beholding.” She
 said, “it would not be possible to have the same or
 “any other room set aside, or allowed to be used as a
 “chapel; but that she would take such course, that the
 “family might meet for the exercise of their devotion in
 “some private room that belonged to their lodgings:
 “and that though her own exhibition was so ill paid,
 “that she was indebted to all her servants, yet she
 “would give order that Dr. Cosins (against whom
 “she had some personal exceptions) should receive his
 “salary, in proportion with the rest of her servants.”
 She bid him “assure the Duke of York, that he should
 “have a free exercise of his religion, as he had before,
 “though it must not be in the same place.”

The Chan-
 cellor con-
 fers with
 Mr. Moun-
 tague
 about it.

The Chancellor conferred with Mr. Mountague upon
 the subject; and offered the same reasons which he had
 done to the Queen; which he looked upon as of no
 moment; but said, “that the King of France was mas-
 “ter in his own house, and he was resolved, though the
 “King of England himself should come thither again,
 “never to permit any solemn exercise of the Protest-
 “ant religion in any house of his.” The consideration
 of what the Protestants in England might think on
 this occasion was of least moment to him; and it was
 indeed the common discourse there, “that the Protest-
 “ants of the Church of England could never do the
 “King service, but that all his hopes must be in the
 “Roman Catholics, and the Presbyterians; and that
 “he ought to give all satisfaction to both those parties.”

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to
 Antwerp, with a purpose to make a journey speedily to
 the

the Hague, he was informed, "that the States were much
 "offended that the Duke of York remained there; and
 "therefore that the Princess Royal" (who now more
 depended upon their favour than ever; her own jointure,
 as well as the fortune of her son, being to be settled in
 their judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but
 "that he would be the next day at Breda." Thither
 the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke
 there with a family in all the confusion imaginable, in pre-
 sent want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be
 done next. They all censured and reproached the coun-
 sel by which they had been guided, and the counsellors
 as bitterly inveighed against each other, for undertaking
 many things which had no foundation in truth. They
 who concurred in nothing else were equally severe
 against the Attorney, as a man of that intolerable pride,
 that it was not possible for any man to converse with
 him. He as frankly reproached them all with being
 men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no
 principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them
 all, as to condemn every man of them alike. In truth
 he had rendered himself so grievous to them all, that
 there was no man who desired to be in his company;
 yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like
 reason without being it, he retained still too much credit
 with the Duke; who, being amused and confounded
 with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser
 than those who were more easily understood; and was
 himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the
 journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not en-
 tered upon them with reason enough; and was fortified
 with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had
 committed any error. However, he was very glad to
 receive the Queen's letter, which the Chancellor de-
 livered

The Chan-
 cellor finds
 the Duke
 of York at
 Breda; and
 the factions
 of the
 Duke's fa-
 mily there.

The Duke
returns to
Paris to the
Queen.

livered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolved to begin his journey to Paris without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to Antwerp; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to Paris, and was received by the Queen his mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were not solicitous, by any apologies or confession, to recover her favour: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could devise and suggest would have rendered them more inexcusable.

The King's
affairs in
Scotland.

During this time, the King underwent all kind of mortifications in Scotland. But after the defeat of the Scottish army in September, with which the King and Cromwell were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the Marquis of Argyle's empire seemed not to be so absolute. A new army was appointed to be raised; the King himself interposed more than he had done; and the noblemen and officers came to him with more confidence; and his Majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: yet the power was still in Argyle's hands; who, under all the professions of humility, exercised still the same tyranny; insomuch as the King grew weary of his own patience, and resolved to make some attempt to free himself. Dr. Frazier, who had been the King's physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his person, and very much contributed to the King's journey into Scotland, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by Argyle; who knew that he was a creature of
the

the Hamiltonians, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active spirit ; and thereupon sequestered him from his attendance. There were many officers who had served in Duke Hamilton's Engagement, as Middleton, and others, who had very entire affections for the King ; and many of them had corresponded with Mountrose, and resolved to have joined with him ; and finding themselves excluded, as all of them were, from any employment by the power of Argyle, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr. Frazier had held correspondence whilst he was in the Court, and had often spoken to the King of their affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majesty's gracious acceptance of their service, and his resolution to employ them. And now, not being himself suffered to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them ; and held intelligence with the Lord Lautherdale, who had always great confidence in him ; and the officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did, (for his fidelity was never suspected), he gave the King such an account of their numbers, as well as resolutions, that his Majesty appointed a day for their rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the person of Argyle ; to whom the Duke of Buckingham gave himself wholly up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some of the letters which had passed, by the King's having left his cabinet open ; for he was not at all trusted in it.

But

The King
withdraws
towards the
Highlands;
which was
called the
Start.

But is per-
suaded to
return the
next day.

The King
better used
afterwards
by Argyle.

A Parlia-
ment sum-
moned in
the King's
name.

It meets at
Stirling,
and recon-
ciles the
lords.

But Argyle did not think the time so near; so that the King did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty horse, into the Highlands, and lodged there one night; neither the Marquis of Argyle, nor any body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contrived and conducted by Dr. Frazier, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the King. It was afterwards called the Start; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of wise men, very much to his Majesty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it, (for as the company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a troop of horse, which he looked not for, sent by Argyle, who used very effectual instance with him to return), yet notwithstanding, this declaration of his Majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the people generally spoke upon it, "that the King was not treated "as he ought to be," made the Marquis of Argyle change his counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the King. A summons was sent out, in the King's name, to call a Parliament; and great preparations were really made for the coronation; and the season of the year, against which Cromwell was securing himself in Edinburgh, and making provisions for his army, the winter coming on, and the strong passes, which were easy then to be guarded, hindered the enemy's advance: so that the King resided, sometimes at Stirling, and sometimes at St. Johnston's, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at Stirling, and shortly after brought all the lords of the other party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with which the

Engagement

Engagement had defaced them, yet with submission to stand publicly in the stool of repentance, acknowledging their former transgressions; as they all did.

Duke Hamilton and Lautherdale were welcome to the King; and nearest his confidence; which neither the Duke of Buckingham, who had cast off their friendship as unuseful, nor the Marquis of Argyle, were pleased with. The King himself grew very popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the knights and burgeses, got any thing passed in the Parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous acts to be repealed, and provided for the raising an army, whereof himself was General; and no exceptions were taken to those officers who had formerly served the King his father.

An army raised, of which the King is General.
The coronation.

The coronation was passed with great solemnity and magnificence, all men making shew of joy, and of being united to serve his Majesty: yet the Marquis of Argyle preserved his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the King had a purpose to marry one of his daughters; which was carried so far, that the King could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an express into France for the Queen his mother's consent, (which seemed not to be doubted of), and to that purpose Captain Titus, a person grateful to Argyle, and to all the Presbyterian party, was sent; who, finding the Queen less warm upon the proposition than was expected, made less haste back; so that the fate of Scotland was first determined.

The King's army was as well modelled, and in as good a condition as it was like to be whilst he stayed in Scotland. By that time that Cromwell was ready to take the field, his Majesty was persuaded to make David Lesley his Lieutenant General of the army; who had very

very long experience, and a very good name in war; and Middleton commanded the horse. The artillery was in very good order under the command of Wemmes, who had not the worse reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's father. He was a confessed good officer; and there were, or could be, very few officers of any superior command, but such who had drawn their swords against his late Majesty; most of those who had served under the Marquis of Mountrose having been put to death. Many of the greatest noblemen had raised regiments, or troops; and all the young gentlemen of the kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in commands, or volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seemed a body equal in any respect, and superior in number, to the enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desired nothing more than to come to battle; which was not thought counsellable for the King's army to engage in, except upon very notable advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep river between them; and if they kept the passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly choose but keep, Cromwell must in a very few days want provisions, and so be forced to retire, whilst the King had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the advantage of the passes, be in his rear as soon as he thought fit.

Cromwell
endeavours
to fight the
King's ar-
my.

Both armies
near each
other in the
months of
June and
July.

Cromwell
gains a
pass, and
gets behind
the King.

In this posture both armies stood in view of each other near the two months of June and July, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal success. About the end of July, by the cowardice or treachery of Major General Brown, who had a body of four thousand men to keep it, Cromwell's forces under Lambert gained the pass, by which they got behind the King; and though

though they could not compel his Majesty to fight, for there was still the great river between them, they were possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the country; and so would not only have sufficient provision for their own army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the King's. This was a great surprise to the King, and put him into new counsels; and he did, with the unanimous advice of almost all the principal officers, and all those who were admitted to the Council, take a resolution worthy of his courage; which, how unfortunate soever it proved, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The King was now, by Cromwell's putting himself behind him, much nearer to England than he: nor was it possible for him to overtake his Majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the King had been some days' march before him: his Majesty's fate depended upon the success of one battle: for a possible escape into the Highlands, after a defeat, there was no kingly prospect: all the northern parts of England had given him cause to believe that they were very well affected to his service, and if he could reach those countries, he might presume to increase his army, which was numerous enough, with an addition of such men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolved that the army should immediately march, with as much expedition as was possible, into England, by the nearest ways, which led into Lancashire, whither the King sent expresses to give those, of whom he expected much, (by reason some of them had been in Scotland with him, with promise of large undertakings), notice of his purpose,

The King
resolves to
march into
England.

The Marquis of Argyle only dissuaded it, and stayed behind, and retired to his house.

pose, that they might get their soldiers together to receive him. His Majesty sent likewise an express to the Isle of Man, where the Earl of Derby had securely reposed himself from the end of the former war, "that he should meet his Majesty in Lancashire." The Marquis of Argyle was the only man who dissuaded his Majesty's march into England, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and, when the King begun his march, retired to his house in the Highlands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made prisoner, and left so secured that he might not be able to do mischief when the King was gone, which most men believed he would incline to. But his Majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt any thing while the army was entire: if it prevailed, he neither would nor could do any harm; and if it were defeated, it would be no great matter what he did."

Cromwell's resolutions and counsels upon this news.

Though Cromwell was not frequently without good intelligence what was done in the King's army and councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the least advertisement of it. It was not a small surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole army, all the advantages he had got in Scotland would be presently lost, and the whole kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whose army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than his could do. There were two considerations which

which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his army was nearer to them, than their own army was for their defence; and he knew that he had enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his conduct: the other was, the apprehension, that, if the King had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely increase and strengthen his army by the resort of the people, as well as the gentry and nobility, from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the Scottish army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of numbers, and disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with English, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could: he dispatched an express to the Parliament, to prevent their being surprised with the news; and to assure them, "that he would himself overtake the enemy before they should give them any trouble;" and gave such farther orders for drawing the auxiliary troops together in the several counties, as he thought fit.

He gave Lambert order, "immediately to follow the King with seven or eight hundred horse, and to draw as many others, as he could, from the country militia; and to disturb his Majesty's march the most he could, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own party in any sharp actions, without a very notorious advantage; but to keep himself entire till he should come up to him." With this order Lambert marched away the same day the advertisement came.

Cromwell resolved then to leave Major General Monk, upon whom he looked with most confidence, as

Orders
Lambert to
follow the
King with
a body of
horse.

Leaves
Monk in
Scotland.

an excellent officer of foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong party of foot, and some troops of horse, strong enough to suppress any forces which should rise after his departure, “to keep Edinburgh, and “the harbour of Leith; to surprise and apprehend as “many of the nobility, and considerable gentry, as he “should suspect, and keep them under custody; to use “the highest severity against all who opposed him; “and, above all, not to endure or permit the licence of “the preachers in their pulpits; and to make himself as “formidable as was possible: in the last place, that, as “soon as there appeared no visible force in the field, he “should besiege Stirling;” whither most persons of condition were retired with their goods of value, as to a place of strength, and capable of being defended; where the records of the kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited; it being the place where the King had, for the most part, resided. He charged him, “if at St. Johnston’s, or any other place, he found “a stubborn resistance, and were forced to spend much “time, or to take it by storm, that he should give no “quarter, nor exempt it from a general plunder;” all which rules Monk observed with the utmost rigour, and made himself as terrible as man could be.

And follows
the King
three days
after.

When Cromwell had dispatched all these orders and directions, with marvellous expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree, he begun his own march with the remainder of his army, three days after the King was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulness, and assurance to the officers and soldiers, that he should obtain a full victory in England over those who fled from him out of Scotland.

The King had, from the time that he had recovered any authority in Scotland, granted a commission to the Duke

Duke of Buckingham, to raise a regiment of horse which Massey was to command under him, and to raise another regiment of foot. And the English which should resort thither, of which they expected great numbers, were to lift themselves in those regiments. And there were some who had lifted themselves accordingly; but the discipline the Scots had used to the King, and their adhering to their old principles, even after they seemed united for his Majesty, had kept the King's friends in England from repairing to them in Scotland. They who came from Holland with the King had disposed themselves as is said before, and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the King should enter England, those two regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of Buckingham had lost much ground (and the more because the King was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of friendship with Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Lautherdale, (to whom he had professed so much), and had entered into so fast a conjunction with the Marquis of Argyle, their declared irreconcilable enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. Massey had got a great name by his defending Gloucester against the late King, and was looked upon as a martyr for the Presbyterian interest, and so very dear to that party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of England, he was sent with some troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the gentry of the counties through which he passed, to be ready to attend upon his Majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the Presbyterians of Lancashire; whom nobody imagined to be of the Scottish temper, or

Massey sent
to march
before the
King.

unwilling to unite and join with the royal party; nor indeed were they.

A committee of ministers in the King's army, who ruin all.

But it was fatal at that time to all Scottish armies, to have always in them a committee of ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to choose such men for that service as had the reputation of being the most sober and moderate of that whole body, and who had shewed more affection, and advanced the King's service more than the rest; yet this moderate people no sooner heard that Masséy was sent before to call upon their friends, and observed that, from the entrance into England, those about the King seemed to have less regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they sent an express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the King, with letters, and a declaration, wherein they required him "to publish that declaration, which signified "the King's and the whole army's zeal for the Covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any "soldiers in his troops, but those who would subscribe "that obligation." The King had soon notice of this, and lost no time in sending to Masséy "not to publish "any such declaration, and to behave himself with equal "civility towards all men who were forward to serve his "Majesty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the kingdom; all men fled from their houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the King very well; and besides, his motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of Derby met the King in Lancashire.

In Lancashire the Earl of Derby met him; who, as soon as he received his summons, left the Isle of Man. When the King's army came about Warrington in Cheshire,

Cheshire, they found, that there was a body of the enemy drawn up in a fair field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was Lambert; who had made so much haste, that he had that day fallen upon some of their troops, and beaten them into the army; but when the army came up, Lambert, according to his order and purpose, retired, and, being pursued by the King's horse with a greater party, made more haste than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This success made a great noise, as if Lambert had been defeated.

Lambert follows, but is forced to retire.

At Warrington it was thought counsellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of Derby, with the Lord Withrington, and several other officers of good name, should return into Lancashire, in order to raise the well affected in those two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that Cromwell was to follow, who was entered into Yorkshire, the remaining of those persons there was thought a good expedient to gather a body of English, which the King extremely desired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the army. In order to which, the Earl had a body of near two hundred horse, consisting, for the most part, of officers and gentlemen; which deprived the army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a counsel too suddenly entered upon.

At Warrington the Earl of Derby parts from the King, and is sent to Lancashire with other officers to raise forces.

Upon appearance of that body of Lambert's, the whole army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The King having observed David Lesley, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made, slow in giving orders,

ders, and residing by himself, his Majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, "how he could be sad, when he was in the head of so brave an army?" (which he said looked well that day), and demanded of him, "How he liked them?" To which

David Lesley's saying concerning the Scottish army.

David Lesley answered him in his ear, being at some distance from any other, "that he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight:" which the King imputed to the chagrin of his humour, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any man, till, some years after, upon another occasion which will be remembered in its place, he told the Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue Lambert; who, being known to be a man of courage and conduct, and his troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly a retreat, to have only designed to have drawn the army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolved to continue with the same expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; until they should come to such a post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continued it even to London; which would have produced wonderful effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both horse and foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: the weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of August; so that if they had not some rest before an enemy approached them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to fight.

There was a small garrison in Shrewsbury commanded by a gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevailed with to give it up to the King; but his Majesty sending to him, he returned a rude denial: so that his Majesty's

The King summons Shrewsbury in vain.

Majesty's eye was upon Worcester; that was so little out of his way to London, that the going thither would not much retard the march, if they found the army able to continue it. Worcester had always been a place very well affected in itself, and most of the gentlemen of that county had been engaged for the King in the former war, and the city was the last that had surrendered to the Parliament, of all those which had been garrisoned for his Majesty; when all the works were thrown down, and no garrison from that time had been kept there; the sheriff, and justices, and committees, having had power enough to defend it against any malignity of the town, or county; and at this time all the principal gentry of that county had been seized upon, and were now prisoners there. Thither the King came with his army The King marches to Worcester. even as soon as they had heard that he was in England: whereupon the committee, and all those who were employed by the Parliament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving their prisoners behind them, lest they themselves should become prisoners to them; and the city opened their gates, and received the King, with all the demonstration of affection and duty that could be expressed; and made such provision for the army, that it wanted nothing it could desire; the mayor taking care for the present provision of shoes and stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal persons of the country found themselves at liberty; and they, and the mayor and aldermen, with all the solemnity they could prepare, attended the herald, who proclaimed the King, as he had done, in Where he is proclaimed. more haste, and with less formality, in all those considerable towns through which his Majesty had passed.

The army liked their quarters here so well, that neither officer nor soldier was in any degree willing to quit them,

them, till they should be thoroughly refreshed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred miles been marched in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach London, though it had been better prepared for the King's reception than it appeared to be, before Cromwell would be there: who, having with great haste continued his march in a direct line, was now as near to it as the King's army was, and stood only at a gaze to be informed what his Majesty meant to do. Worcester was a very good post, seated almost in the middle of the kingdom, and in as fruitful a country as any part of it; a good city, served by the noble river of Severn from all the adjacent counties; Wales behind it, from whence levies might be made of great numbers of stout men: it was a place where the King's friends might repair, if they had the affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compelled to engage his army in a battle, till Cromwell had gotten men enough to encompass him on all sides: and then the King might choose on which side to fight, since the enemy must be on both sides the river, and could not come suddenly to relieve each other, and the straitening the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several insurrections in the kingdom, if they were so weary of the present tyranny, and so solicitous to be restored to the King's government, as they were conceived to be: for nobody could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their loyalty, than when the King was in the heart
of

of the kingdom, with a formed army of about fifteen thousand men, horse and foot, (for so they might be accounted to be), with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful party. These considerations produced the resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect Cromwell there; and a hope that he might be delayed by other diversions: and there was like to be time enough to cast up such works upon the hill before the town, as might keep the enemy at a distance, and their own quarters from being suddenly straitened: all which were recommended to General Lesley to take care of, and to take such a perfect view of the ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time required it.

The first ill omen that happened was the news of the defeat of the Earl of Derby, and the total destruction of those gallant persons who accompanied him. The ill success of the Earl of Derby. The Earl of Derby, within two or three days after he had left the King, with a body of near two hundred horse, all gallant men, employed his servants and tenants to give the country notice of his staying behind the King, to head and command those persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his Majesty made through the country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the people, he went to a little market-town, called Wigan in Lancashire, where he stayed that night; when in the morning a regiment or two of the militia of the neighbour counties, and some other troops of the army, commanded by a man of courage, whom Cromwell had sent to follow in the track of the King's march, to gather up the stragglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the army, having received some advertisement that a troop of the King's horse were behind the army in that town,
fell

fell very early into it, before the persons in the town were out of their beds, having assurance, upon all the enquiry they could make, that there was no enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any suspicion of those forces, which consisted of the several troops of the several counties with others of the army, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their horses, presently mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on foot, and all endeavoured to keep the enemy from entering into the town; and the few who were got on horseback charged them with great courage. But the number of the enemy was too great, and the town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. The Earl of Derby, after his horse had been killed under him, made a shift to mount again; and so, with a small party of horse, through many difficulties and dangers, escaped wounded to the King to Worcester.

The Lord Withrington killed upon the place.

The Lord Withrington, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was killed upon the place; and so was Sir Thomas Tildesley, and many other gallant gentlemen, very few escaping to carry news of the defeat. Sir William Throgmorton, who had been formerly Major General of the Marquis of Newcastle's army, and was left to command in the same function, received so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards so well recovered, though with great maims and loss of blood, that he at last got himself transported into Holland; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a ghost, all men believing him to have

have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken prisoners, of any quality, were afterwards sacrificed as a spectacle to the people, and barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the Earl of Derby; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The Lord Withrington was one of the most goodly persons of that age, being near the head higher than most tall men, and a gentleman of the best and most ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very fair fortune, and one of the four which the last King made choice of to be about the person of his son the Prince as Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, when he first settled his family. His affection to the King was always remarkable; and serving in the House of Commons as knight of the shire for the county of Northumberland, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most malignant. As soon as the war broke out, he was of the first who raised both horse and foot at his own charge, and served eminently with them under the Marquis of Newcastle; with whom he had a very particular and entire friendship. He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his testimony that he had performed many signal services, he was, about the middle of the war, made a Peer of the kingdom. He was a man of great courage, but of some passion, by which he incurred the ill will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of nature, which no man was farther from; no man of a nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the House of Commons, and observed the dissingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the people, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his zeal

The Lord Withrington's character.

to

to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and phlegmatic men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask pardon of those who would not question him for it. He transported himself into the parts beyond the sea at the same time with the Marquis of Newcastle, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the King went into Scotland; and then waited upon his Majesty, and endured the same affronts which others did, during the time of his residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their principles, and the disdain of their treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their company, in hope that the Earl of Derby, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a body of the royal party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that nation. It was reported by the enemy, that, in respect of his brave person and behaviour, they did offer him quarter; which he refused; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the animosity the Parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the Earl of Derby; who had not more enemies.

And Sir
Thomas
Tildesley's.

Sir Thomas Tildesley was a gentleman of a good family, and a good fortune, who had raised men at his own charge at the beginning of the war, and had served in the command of them till the very end of it, with great courage; and refusing to make any composition after the murder of the King, he found means to transport

port himself into Ireland to the Marquis of Ormond ; with whom he stayed, till he was, with the rest of the *English* officers, dismissed, to satisfy the barbarous jealousy of the Irish ; and then got over into Scotland a little before the King marched from thence, and was desired by the Earl of Derby to remain with him. The names of the other persons of quality who were killed in that encounter, and those who were taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discovered, and mentioned honourably, by any who shall propose to himself to communicate particularly those transactions to the view of posterity.

When the news of this defeat came to Worcester, as it did even almost as soon as the King came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general rising of the people on his behalf. His army was very little increased by the access of any *English* ; and though he had passed near the habitation of many persons of honour and quality, whose affections and loyalty had been eminent, not a man of them repaired to him. The sense of their former sufferings remained, and the smart was not over ; nor did his stay in Worcester for so many days add any resort to his Court. The gentlemen of the country whom his coming thither had redeemed from imprisonment, remained still with him, and were useful to him ; they who were in their houses in the country, though as well affected, remained there, and came not to him ; and though letters from London had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appeared, except only some few gentlemen, and some common men who had formerly served the last King, and repaired again to Worcester.

There

Transac-
tions of the
King at
Worcester.

There were some other accidents and observations which administered matter of mortification to the King. The Duke of Buckingham had a mind very restless, and thought he had not credit enough with the King if it were not made manifest that he had more than any body else: and therefore, as soon as the King had entered England, though he had reason to believe that his Majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in Scotland, he came to the King and told him, "the business was now to reduce England to his obedience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and popular in the eyes of the nation; and nothing could be less so, than that the army should be under the command of a Scottish General: that David Lesley was only Lieutenant General; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remained in Scotland, to have put any other to have commanded over him; but that it would be as unreasonable, now they were in England, and had hope to increase the army by the access of the English, upon whom his principal dependence must be, to expect that they would be willing to serve under Lesley: that it would not consist with the honour of any Peer of England to receive his orders; and, he believed, that very few of that rank would repair to his Majesty, till they were secured from that apprehension;" and used much more discourse to that purpose. The King was so much surprised with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "who it was that he thought fit his Majesty should give that command to?" when, to his astonishment, the Duke told him, "he hoped his Majesty would confer it upon himself." At which the King was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse,

course, by calling upon somebody who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former argument. The Duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the King, "that, he was confident, what he had proposed to him was so evidently for his service, that David Lesley himself would willingly consent to it." The King, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly believe that he was in earnest, or that he could in truth believe that he could be fit for such a charge;" which the Duke seemed to wonder at, and asked, "wherein his unfitness lay?" To which the King replied, "that he was too young:" and he as readily alleged, "that Harry the Fourth of France commanded an army, and won a battle, when he was younger than he:" so that, in the end, the King was compelled to tell him, "that he would have no Generalissimo but himself:" upon which the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, neglected every body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he scarce put on clean linen, nor conversed with any body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilst the army stayed at Worcester.

There was another worse accident fell out soon after the King's coming thither: Major General Maffey, who thought himself now in his own territory, and that all between Worcester and Gloucester would be quickly his own conquest, knowing every step both by land and the river, went out with a party to secure a pass, which the enemy might make over the river; which he did very well; but would then make a farther inroad into the country, and possess a house which was of small importance, and in which there were men to defend it; where he received

General Maffey a very dangerous wound, that tore his arm and hand in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his bed, in a time when his activity and industry was most wanted. By this means, the pass he had secured was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

The ill disposition of the King's officers.

There was no good understanding between the officers of the army : David Lesley appeared dispirited, and confounded ; gave and revoked his orders, and sometimes contradicted them. He did not love Middleton, and was very jealous that all the officers loved him too well ; who was indeed an excellent officer, and kept up the spirits of the rest, who had no esteem of Lesley. In this very unhappy distemper was the court and the army, in a season when they were ready to be swallowed by the power and multitude of the enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their counsels and endeavours ; in all which they were miserably divided.

The King had been several days in Worcester, when Cromwell was known to be within less than half a day's march, with an addition of very many regiments of horse and foot to those which he had brought with him from Scotland ; and many other regiments were drawing towards him of the militia of the several counties, under the command of the principal gentlemen of their party in the countries : so that he was already very much superior, if not double in number to the army the King had with him. However, if those rules had been observed, those works cast up, and that order in quartering their men, as were resolved upon when the King came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the advantages of the ground, the river, and the city, would

would have preserved them from being presently overrun. But, alas ! the army was in amazement and confusion. Cromwell, without troubling himself with the formality of a siege, marched directly on as to a prey, and possessed the hill and all other places of advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of September, when the King having been upon his horse most part of the night, and having taken a full view of the enemy, and every body being upon the post they were appointed, and the enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt then, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease ; his Majesty, a little before noon, retired to his lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the alarm came, “ that both armies were engaged ;” and though his Majesty’s own horse was ready at the door, and he presently mounted, before or as soon as he came out of the city, he met the whole body of his horse running in so great disorder, that he could not stop them, though he used all the means he could, and called to many officers by their names ; and hardly preserved himself, by letting them pass by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

The King’s
defeat at
Worcester
3d of Sep-
tember.

Cromwell had used none of the delay, nor circumspection which was imagined ; but directed the troops to fall on in all places at once ; and had caused a strong party to go over the river at the pass, which Massey had formerly secured, at a good distance from the town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the river, till they were even ready to charge the King’s troops. On that part where Middleton was, and with whom Duke Hamilton charged, there was a very brave resistance ; and they charged the enemy so vigorously, that they beat the body that

charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many gentlemen being killed, and Middleton hurt, and Duke Hamilton's leg broke with a shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole army, that the rest of the horse fled, and all the foot threw down their arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the town, he found a good body of horse, which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the spur. The King desired those who stayed, "that they would follow him, that they might look upon the enemy, who, he believed, did not pursue them." But when his Majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the gates of the town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confusion; there were few to command, and none to obey: so that the King stayed till very many of the enemy's horse were entered the town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton died of his wounds.

His character.

Duke Hamilton fell into the enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a spectacle, as his brother had been; which the pride and animosity of his enemies would no doubt have caused to be, having the same pretence for it by his being a Peer of England, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much preferred before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man: for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's master-piece. He had unquestionable courage: he was in truth a very accomplished person,

person, of an excellent judgment, and clear and ready expressions : and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very article of his death, he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness, "that he had the honour to lose his life in the King's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions;" which he always professed were odious to himself.

As the victory cost the enemy little blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away were every day knocked in the head by the country people, and used with barbarity. Towards the King's menial servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

Though the King could not get a body of horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from Worcester, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his horse. There was David Lesley with all his own equipage, as if he had not fled upon the sudden; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into Scotland itself. But there was paleness in every man's looks, and jealousy and confusion in their faces; and scarce any thing could worse befall the King, than a return into Scotland; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the night covered them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be light; and after he had

The King's
retreat, and
conceal-
ment.

made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent wood, and relied only upon him for his preservation who alone could, and did miraculously deliver him.

When it was morning, and the troops, which had marched all night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and most of them who were English separated themselves, and went into other roads; and wherever twenty horse appeared of the country, which was now awake, and upon their guard to stop and arrest the runaways, the whole body of the Scottish horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves prisoners to two country fellows: however, David Lesley reached Yorkshire with above fifteen hundred horse in a body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by Cromwell; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one morning with the principal persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; Sir William Armorer asked him, "which way he thought best?" which when he had named, the other said, "he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betrayed the King and the army all the time;" and so left him.

David Lesley and the rest taken.

Well nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongst them the Earl of Lautherdale, and many of the Scottish nobility, and the Earls of Cleveland and Derby, and divers other men of quality of the English nation. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that
numerous

numerous body of horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the foot escaped) returned into Scotland. Upon all the enquiry that was made, when most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed were discovered, there appeared no cause to suspect that David Lesley had been unfaithful in his charge: though he never recovered any reputation with those of his own country who wedded the King's interest. And it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his imprisonment, he never received any favour from the Parliament, whom he had served so long; nor from Cromwell, in whose company he had served; but underwent all the severities, and long imprisonment, the rest of his countrymen suffered. The King did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent officer of horse, to distribute and execute orders, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the office of a General, or of any competent officer.

They who fled out of Worcester, and were not killed, but made prisoners, and all the foot, and others who were taken in the town, except some few officers and persons of quality, were driven like cattle with a guard to London, and there treated with great rigour; and many perished for want of food; and being inclosed in little room, till they were sold to the plantations for slaves, they died of all diseases. Cromwell returned in triumph; was received with universal joy and acclamation, as if he had destroyed the enemy of the nation, and for ever secured the liberty and happiness of the people; a price was set upon the King's head, whose escape was thought to be impossible; and order taken

The King's
foot driven
prisoners to
London,
and sold to
the planta-
tions.

for the trial of the Earl of Derby, and such other notorious prisoners as they had voted to destruction.

The Earl of
Derby's
character
and execu-
tion.

The Earl of Derby was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the late King, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. This King, in his first year, sent him the Garter; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that honour made him so readily comply with the King's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the Crown, to be made instruments of repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour and clear courage; and all his defects and misfortunes proceeded from his having lived so little time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors; which was the source of all the ill that befell him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death. The King's army was no sooner defeated at Worcester, but the Parliament renewed their old method of murdering in cold blood, and sent a commission to erect a High Court of Justice to persons of ordinary quality, many not being gentlemen, and all notoriously his enemies, to try the Earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion; which they easily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a town of his own, against which he had expressed a severe displeasure for their obstinate rebellion against the King, with all the circumstances of rudeness and barbarity they could invent. The same night, one of those who was amongst his

his judges sent a trumpet to the Isle of Man with a letter directed to the Countess of Derby, by which he required her "to deliver up the castle and island to the Parliament:" nor did their malice abate, till they had reduced that lady, a woman of very high and princely extraction, being the daughter of the Duke de Tremouille in France, and of the most exemplary virtue and piety of her time, and that whole most noble family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the fortune and estate that should support it.

They of the King's friends in Flanders, France, and Holland, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majesty in Scotland, were much exalted with the news of his being entered England with a powerful army, and being possessed of Worcester, which made all men prepare to make haste thither. But they were confounded with the news of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the person of the King, "of his being found amongst the dead; of his "being prisoner;" and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous events. Many who had made escapes arrived every day in France, Flanders, and Holland, but knew no more what was become of the King, than they did who had not been in England. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen him that evening after the battle, many miles out of Worcester. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the Hague with his sister, which was occasioned by the arrival of the Duke of Buckingham in Holland; and it was thought good policy to publish that the King himself was landed, that the search after him in
England

The King
came to
Rouen in
November.

England might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all honest men during the whole months of September and October, and part of November; in which month his Majesty was known to be at Rouen; where he made himself known, and stayed some days to provide clothes; and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

The parti-
culars of the
King's
escape, as
the Author
had them
from the
King him-
self.

It is great pity that there was never a journal made of that miraculous deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate hand of God. When the darkness of the night was over, after the King had cast himself into that wood, he discerned another man, who had gotten upon an oak in the same wood, near the place where the King had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The man upon the tree had first seen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a gentleman of the neighbour county of Staffordshire, who had served his late Majesty during the war, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the King after his coming to Worcester. His name was Careless, who had had a command of foot, about the degree of a captain, under the Lord Loughborough. He persuaded the King, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the wood itself would probably be visited by those of the country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make prisoners, that he would get up into that tree, where he had been; where the boughs were so thick with leaves, that a man would not be discovered there without a narrower enquiry than people usually make in places which they do not suspect.

The King
meets Cap-
tain Care-
less in a
wood, who
persuades
him to get
up into an
oak.

The

The King thought it good counsel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the tree; and then helped his companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw many who came purposely into the wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the King himself if they could take him. This wood was either in or upon the borders of Staffordshire; and though there was a highway near one side of it, where the King had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it opened amongst inclosures, and Careless was not unacquainted with the neighbour villages; and it was part of the King's good fortune, that this gentleman, by being a Roman Catholic, was acquainted with those of that profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that some of that religion had a very great share in his Majesty's preservation.

The day being spent in the tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had lived two days with eating very little, and two nights with as little sleep; so that, when the night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his companion, to leave his blessed tree; and, when the night was dark, they walked through the wood into those inclosures which were farthest from any highway, and making a shift to get over hedges and ditches, after walking at least eight or nine miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his boots, (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of shoes), before morning they came to a poor cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman Catholic was known to Careless. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily

Thence he came to a cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a barn.

easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little barn, full of hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their host of the news and temper of the country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they stayed together; and therefore that Careless should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest man to the King, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his Majesty should stay upon the hay-mow. The poor man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good buttermilk; and so he was once more left alone, his companion, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor man of the house knowing no more, than that he was a friend of the captain's, and one of those who had escaped from Worcester. The King slept very well in his lodging, till the time that his host brought him a piece of bread, and a great pot of buttermilk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor man spoke very intelligently to him of the country, and of the people who were well or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him, "that he himself lived by his daily labour, and that
" what he had brought him was the fare he and his
" wife had; and that he feared, if he should endeavour
" to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him,
" and people might be apt to think he had somebody
" with him that was not of his own family. However,
" if he would have him get some meat, he would do it;
" but if he could bear this hard diet, he should have
" enough of the milk, and some of the butter that was
" made with it." The King was satisfied with his reason,

son, and would not run the hazard for a change of diet; desired only the man, "that he might have his company as often, and as much as he could give it him;" there being the same reason against the poor man's discontinuing his labour, as the alteration of his fare.

After he had rested upon this hay-mow, and fed upon this diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his host, came to the house, sent from Careless, to conduct the King to another house, more out of any road near which any part of the army was like to march. It was above twelve miles that he was to go, ^{Thence he is conducted to another house twelve miles off.} and was to use the same caution he had done the first night, not to go in any common road; which his guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dressed himself, changing clothes with his landlord: he had a great mind to have kept his own shirt; but he considered, that men are not sooner discovered by any mark in disguises, than by having fine linen in ill clothes; and so he parted with his shirt too, and took the same his poor host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his boots, and his landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the night, under the conduct of this guide; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over hedges and ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his safety at that price. His shoes had, after a few miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them

them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill stockings, which were quickly worn out ; and his feet, with the thorns in getting over hedges, and with the stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate resolution to rest there till the morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go : and in this distress and perplexity, before the morning, they arrived at the house designed ; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the barn, upon straw instead of hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a guest could dispose it. Here he had such meat and porridge as such people use to have ; with which, but especially with the butter and the cheese, he thought himself well feasted ; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, shoes and stockings : and after his feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor house, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble : for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only, by shifting from one house to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman Catholics than most other parts in England, he was led from one to another of that persuasion, and concealed with great fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any gentleman's house, though that country was full of them, but only to poor houses of poor men, which only yielded him
rest

Thence to
another ;
and so to
others.

rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better houses, in regard of the resort, and the many servants; or whether the owners of great estates were the owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Within few days, a very honest and discreet person, Mr. Hudleston sent to him by Careless; who brought him to the Lord Wilmot. one Mr. Hudleston, a Benedictine Monk, who attended the service of the Roman Catholics in those parts, came to him, sent by Careless; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a horse, and more proper habit than the rags he wore. This man told him, "that the Lord Wilmot lay concealed likewise in
 " a friend's house of his; which his Majesty was very
 " glad of; and wished him to contrive some means, how
 " they might speak together;" which the other easily did; and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. Wilmot told the King, "that he had by
 " very good fortune fallen into the house of an honest
 " gentleman, one Mr. Lane, a person of an excellent
 " reputation for his fidelity to the King, but of so universal and general a good name, that, though he had
 " a son, who had been a colonel in the King's service,
 " during the late war, and was then upon his way
 " with men to Worcester the very day of the defeat,
 " men of all affections in the country, and of all opinions, paid the old man a very great respect: that he
 " had been very civilly treated there, and that the old
 " gentleman had used some diligence to find out where
 " the King was, that he might get him to his house;
 " where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he
 " might contrive a full deliverance." He told him,
 " he had withdrawn from that house, in hope that he
 " might,

“ might, in some other place, discover where his Majesty
 “ was, and having now happily found him, advised him
 “ to repair to that house, which stood not near any
 “ other.”

The King enquired of the monk of the reputation of this gentleman; who told him, “ that he had a fair
 “ estate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldest
 “ justice of peace of that county of Stafford; and
 “ though he was a very zealous Protestant, yet he lived
 “ with so much civility and candour towards the Ca-
 “ tholics, that they would all trust him, as much as
 “ they would do any of their own profession; and that
 “ he could not think of any place of so good repose
 “ and security for his Majesty’s repair to.” The King
 liked the proposition, yet thought not fit to surprise the
 gentleman; but sent Wilmot thither again, to assure
 himself that he might be received there; and was will-
 ing that he should know what guest he received;
 which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the
 houses, where he had yet been, knew, or seemed to sus-
 pect more than that he was one of the King’s party that
 fled from Worcester. The monk carried him to a house
 at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an ac-
 count from the Lord Wilmot; who returned very punctu-
 ally, with as much assurance of welcome as he could wish.
 And so they two went together to Mr. Lane’s house;
 where the King found he was welcome, and conveni-
 ently accommodated in such places, as in a large house
 had been provided to conceal the persons of malignants,
 or to preserve goods of value from being plundered.
 Here he lodged, and eat very well; and begun to hope
 that he was in present safety. Wilmot returned under
 the care of the monk, and expected summons, when
 any farther motion should be thought to be necessary.

The King
 brought by
 him to Mr.
 Lane’s
 house.

In

In this station the King remained in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general consternation the kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his person might fall into the hands of his enemies, and of the great diligence they used to enquire for him. He saw the proclamation that was issued out and printed ; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any man who would deliver and discover the person of Charles Stuart, and the penalty of high treason declared against those who presumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might get near the sea, from whence he might find some means to transport himself: and he was now near the middle of the kingdom, saving that it was a little more northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the ports, and with that coast. In the West he was best acquainted, and that coast was most proper to transport him into France ; to which he was inclined. Upon this matter he communicated with those of this family to whom he was known, that is, with the old gentleman the father, a very grave and venerable person, the colonel his eldest son, a very plain man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless courage, and an integrity superior to any temptation, and a daughter of the house, of a very good wit and discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the affections of all men were almost as well known as their faces; by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad seasons, in many trials and persecutions: so that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their friends;

could choofe fit houfes, at any diftance, to repose themfelves in fecurity, from one end of the kingdom to another, without trufting the hofpitality of a common inn : and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon fuch occafions, but the perfons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another houfe of the fame affection.

Mr. Lane had a niece, or very near kinfwoman, who was married to a gentleman, one Mr. Norton, a perfon of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five miles of Briftol, which was at leaft four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place moft to be wifhed for the King to be in, becaufe he did not only know all that country very well, but knew many perfons alfo, to whom, in an extraordinary cafe, he durft make himfelf

Here it was
refolved the
King fhould
go to Mr.
Norton's ;
riding be-
fore Mrs.
Lane.

known. It was hereupon refolved, that Mrs. Lane fhould vifit this coufin, who was known to be of good affections ; and that fhe fhould ride behind the King, who was fitted with clothes and boots for fuch a fervice ; and that a fervant of her father's, in his livery, fhould wait upon her. A good houfe was eafily pitched upon for the firft night's lodging ; where Wilmot had notice given him to meet. And in this equipage the King begun his journey ; the colonel keeping him company at a diftance with a hawk upon his fift, and two or three fpaniels ; which, where there were any fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his company ftill in his eye, and not feeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their firft night's lodging ; and they need not now contrive to come to their journey's end about the clofe of the evening, for it was in the month of October far advanced, that the long journeys they made could not be difpatched fooner. Here the

Lord

Lord Wilmot found them; and their journeys being then adjusted, he was instructed where he should be every night: so they were seldom seen together in the journey, and rarely lodged in the same house at night. In this manner the colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a day's journey of Mr. Norton's house; and then he gave his hawk to the Lord Wilmot; who continued the journey in the same exercise.

There was great care taken when they came to any house, that the King might be presently carried into some chamber; Mrs. Lane declaring, "that he was a neighbour's son, whom his father had lent her to ride before her, in hope that he would the sooner recover from a quartan ague, with which he had been miserably afflicted, and was not yet free." And by this artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried herself, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, save that they met many people every day in the way, who were very well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were necessarily to ride quite through the city of Bristol; a place, and people, the King had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode with his mistress behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. Norton's house sooner than usual, and it being on a holiday, they saw many people about

They came
safe to Mr.
Norton's
through
Bristol.

a bowling-green that was before the door; and the first man the King saw was a chaplain of his own, who was allied to the gentleman of the house, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the bowlers played. William, by which name the King went, walked with his horse into the stable, until his mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs. Lane was very welcome to her cousin, and was presently conducted to her chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of "a good youth, who came with her, and whom she had borrowed of his father to ride before her, who was very sick, being newly recovered of an ague;" and desired her cousin, "that a chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire made: for that he would go early to bed, and was not fit to be below stairs." A pretty little chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a boy sent into the stable to call William, and to shew him his chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much company as was below. Mrs. Lane was put to find some excuse for making a visit at that time of the year, and so many days' journey from her father, and where she had never been before, though the mistress of the house and she had been bred together, and friends as well as kindred. She pretended, "that she was, after a little rest, to go into Dorsetshire to another friend." When it was supper-time, there being broth brought to the table, Mrs. Lane filled a little dish, and desired the butler, who waited at the table, "to carry that dish of porridge to William, and to tell him that he should have some meat sent to him presently." The butler carried the porridge into the chamber, with a napkin, and spoon, and bread, and spoke kindly to the young man; who was willing to be eating.

The

The butler, looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his Majesty." The King was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the man, and to ask him, "what he meant?" The man had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the King had not forgot. Whereupon the King conjured him "not to speak of what he knew, so much as to his master, though he believed him a very honest man." The fellow promised, and kept his word; and the King was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

The King is known to the butler of the house.

Dr. Gorges, the King's chaplain, being a gentleman of a good family near that place, and allied to Mr. Norton, supped with them; and, being a man of a cheerful conversation, asked Mrs. Lane many questions concerning William, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up meat to him, "how long his ague had been gone? and whether he had purged since it left him?" and the like; to which she gave such answers as occurred. The Doctor, from the final prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of that function had done, declined his profession, and pretended to study physic. As soon as supper was done, out of good nature, and without telling any body, he went to see William. The King saw him coming into the chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the bed, that he might be farthest from the candle; and the Doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his pulse, and asked him many questions, which he answered in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his bed; to which the Doctor left him, and went to Mrs. Lane, and told her, "that he had been with William, and that he

“would do well ;” and advised her what she should do if his ague returned. The next morning the Doctor went away, so that the King saw him no more. The next day the Lord Wilmot came to the house with his hawk, to see Mrs. Lane, and so conferred with William; who was to consider what he was to do. They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they were informed what port lay most convenient for them, and what person lived nearest to it, upon whose fidelity they might rely : and the King gave him directions to enquire after some persons, and some other particulars, of which when he should be fully instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean time, Wilmot lodged at a house not far from Mr. Norton’s, to which he had been recommended.

After some days’ stay here, and communication between the King and the Lord Wilmot by letters, the King came to know that Colonel Francis Windham lived within little more than a day’s journey of the place where he was ; of which he was very glad ; for besides the inclination he had to his elder brother, whose wife had been his nurse, this gentleman had behaved himself very well during the war, and had been governor of Dunstar castle, where the King had lodged when he was in the West. After the end of the war, and when all other places were surrendered in that county, he likewise surrendered that, upon fair conditions, and made his peace, and afterwards married a wife with a competent fortune, and lived quietly, without any suspicion of having lessened his affection towards the King.

The King sent Wilmot to him, and acquainted him where he was, and “that he would gladly speak with “him.” It was not hard for him to choose a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed.

pointed. After the King had taken his leave of Mrs. Lane, who remained with her cousin Norton, the King, and the Lord Wilmot, met the colonel; and, in the way, he met in a town, through which they passed, Mr. Kirton, a servant of the King's, who well knew the Lord Wilmot, who had no other disguise than the hawk, but took no notice of him, nor suspected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his company upon the way. At the place of meeting they rested only one night, and then the King went to the colonel's house; where he rested many days, whilst the colonel projected at what place the King might embark, and how they might procure a vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any vessel that was outward bound to take in any passenger.

The King goes to Colonel Francis Windham's house.

There was a gentleman, one Mr. Ellifon, who lived near Lyme in Dorsetshire, and was well known to Colonel Windham, having been a captain in the King's army, and was still looked upon as a very honest man. With him the colonel consulted, how they might get a vessel to be ready to take in a couple of gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arrested, and transport them into France. Though no man would ask who the persons were, yet it could not but be suspected who they were; at least they concluded, that it was some of Worcester party. Lyme was generally as malicious and disaffected a town to the King's interest, as any town in England could be: yet there was in it a master of a bark, of whose honesty this captain was very confident. This man was lately returned from France, and had unladen his vessel, when Ellifon asked him, "when he would make another voyage?" And he an-

swered, "as soon as he could get lading for his ship." The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry "over a couple of gentlemen, and land them in France, "if he might be as well paid for his voyage as he used "to be when he was freighted by the merchants." In conclusion, he told him, "he should receive fifty pounds "for his fare." The large recompence had that effect, that the man undertook it; though he said "he must "make his provision very secretly; for that he might "be well suspected for going to sea again without being "freighted, after he was so newly returned." Colonel Windham, being advertised of this, came together with the Lord Wilmot to the captain's house, from whence the lord and the captain rid to a house near Lyme; where the master of the bark met them; and the Lord Wilmot being satisfied with the discourse of the man, and his wariness in foreseeing suspicions, which would arise, it was resolved, that on such a night, which, upon consideration of the tides, was agreed upon, the man should draw out his vessel from the pier, and, being at sea, should come to such a point about a mile from the town, where his ship should remain upon the beach when the water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a small inn, kept by a man who was reputed honest, to which the Cavaliers of the country often resorted; and London road passed that way; so that it was seldom without company. Into that inn the two gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the master, the Lord Wilmot and the colonel returned to the colonel's house, above a day's journey from the place, the captain undertaking every day
to

to look that the master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the King should be the day before he was to embark.

The King, being satisfied with these preparations, came, at the time appointed, to that house where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the captain; who found that the man had honestly put his provisions on board, and had his company ready, which were but four men; and that the vessel should be drawn out that night: so that it was fit for the two persons to come to the aforesaid inn, and the captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own house, not distant a mile from it; the colonel remaining still at the house where they had lodged the night before, till he might hear the news of their being embarked.

They found many passengers in the inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, Wilmot went out to discover the bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the sun arose, and nothing like a ship in view. They sent to the captain, who was as much amazed; and he sent to the town; and his servant could not find the master of the bark, which was still in the pier. They suspected the captain, and the captain suspected the master. However, it being past ten of the clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their horses again to return to the house where they had left the colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure;

Thence he is brought to an inn near Lyme; and a ship hired by Captain Ellison.

The ship failed by an accident; and the King left the inn.

parture ; and the night he was to go out with his vessel, he had stayed in his own house, and slept two or three hours ; and the time of the tide being come, that it was necessary to be on board, he took out of a cupboard some linen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to sea. His wife had observed, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with seamen, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried provisions on board the bark ; of which she had asked her husband the reason ; who had told her, “ that “ he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would “ make all things ready.” She was sure that there was yet no lading in the ship, and therefore, when she saw her husband take all those materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to sea, and it being late in the night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his house. He told her, “ he must go, “ and was engaged to go to sea that night ; for which “ he should be well paid.” His wife told him, “ the “ was sure he was doing somewhat that would undo “ him, and she was resolved he should not go out of his “ house ; and if he should persist in it, she would tell “ the neighbours, and carry him before the mayor to be “ examined, that the truth might be found out.” The poor man, thus mastered by the passion and violence of his wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise ; and so went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the King's jealousy hastened him from that inn. It was the solemn fast day, which was observed in those times principally to inflame the people against the King, and all those who were loyal to him ; and there was a chapel in that village over against that inn, where a weaver, who had been a soldier, used

used to preach, and utter all the villainy imaginable against the old order of government: and he was then in the chapel preaching to his congregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the people, "that Charles Stuart was lurking somewhere in that country, and that they would merit from God Almighty, if they could find him out." The passengers, who had lodged in the inn that night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a smith to visit their horses, it being a hard frost. The smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that people, examined the feet of the other two horses to find more work. Like to be discovered by a smith shoeing their horses. When he had observed them, he told the host of the house, "that one of those horses had travelled far; and that he was sure that his four shoes had been made in four several counties;" which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The smith going to the sermon told this story to some of his neighbours; and so it came to the ears of the preacher, when his sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an officer, and searched the inn, and enquired for those horses; and being informed that they were gone, he caused horses to be sent to follow them, and to make enquiry after the two men who rid those horses, and positively declared, "that one of them was Charles Stuart."

When they came again to the colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a ship upon that coast; and, without any farther delay, they rode back to the colonel's house; where they arrived in the night. Then they resolved to make their next attempt in Hampshire and Suffex, where Colonel Windham had no interest. They must pass through all Wiltshire before they came thither; which would require

The King goes back to the colonel's house.

quire many days' journey : and they were first to consider what honest houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose ; and it was thought very dangerous for the King to ride through any great town, as Salisbury, or Winchester, which might probably lie in their way.

There was between that and Salisbury a very honest gentleman, Colonel Robert Philips, a younger brother of a very good family, which had always been very loyal ; and he had served the King during the war.

The King
sends Wil-
mot for Ro-
bert Phi-
lips.

The King was resolved to trust him ; and so sent the Lord Wilmot to a place from whence he might send to Mr. Philips to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr. Philips should come to the King, and Wilmot was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr. Philips accordingly came to the colonel's house ; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of soldiers ; which were sent now from the army to their quarters, and many regiments of horse and foot were assigned for the West ; of which division Desborough was commander in chief. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old security of taking a woman behind him, a kinswoman of Colonel Windham, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from Salisbury ; to which Colonel Philips conducted him. In this journey he passed through the middle of a regiment of horse ; and, presently after, met Desborough walking down a hill with three or four men with him ; who had lodged in Salisbury the night before ; all that road being full of soldiers.

Who con-
ducts him
to a place
near Salis-
bury.

The next day, upon the plains, Dr. Hinchman, one
of

of the Prebends of Salisbury, met the King, the Lord Wilmot and Philips then leaving him to go to the sea-coast to find a vessel, the Doctor conducting the King to a place called Heale, three miles from Salisbury, belonging then to Serjeant Hyde, who was afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the widow of his elder brother; a house that stood alone from neighbours, and from any highway; where coming in late in the evening, he supped with some gentlemen who accidentally were in the house; which could not well be avoided. But, the next morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his journey; and the widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her guest, sent her servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little room, which had been made since the beginning of the troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the seat always belonging to a Malignant family.

Here he lay concealed, without the knowledge of some gentlemen, who lived in the house, and of others who daily resorted thither, for many days, the widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such letters as the Doctor received from the Lord Wilmot and Colonel Philips. A vessel being at last provided upon the coast of Sussex, and notice thereof sent to Dr. Hinchman, he sent to the King to meet him at Stonehenge upon the plains three miles from Heale; whither the widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where Colonel Philips received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the Lord Wilmot; who went with him to a house in Sussex, recommended by Colonel Gunter, a gentleman of that country, who had

Dr. Hinchman meets the King on the plains; and conducts him to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's house.

Thence to a house in Sussex near Bright-helmstone; where a bark was provided by Colonel Gunter.

He arrives
in Norman-
dy in a small
creek, in
November.

served the King in the war; who met him there; and had provided a little bark at Brighthelmstone, a small fisher-town; where he went early on board, and, by God's blessing, arrived safely in Normandy.

The Earl of Southampton, who was then at his house at Titchfield in Hampshire, had been advertised of the King's being in the West, and of his missing his passage at Lyme, and sent a trusty gentleman to those faithful persons in the country, who, he thought, were most like to be employed for his escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "that he had a ship ready, and if the King came to him, he should be safe;" which advertisement came to the King the night before he embarked, and when his vessel was ready. But his Majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only person of that condition, who had the courage to solicit such danger, though all good men heartily wished his deliverance. It was in November, that the King landed in Normandy, in a small creek; from whence he got to Rouen, and then gave notice to the Queen of his arrival, and freed his loyal subjects in all places from their dismal apprehensions.

Though this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the person of the King was an argument of general joy and comfort to all his good subjects, and a new seed of hope for future blessings, yet his present condition was very deplorable. France was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his mother was very glad of his escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his support; they who had interest with her finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expence. Besides, the
distraction

distraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her servants, and for the very provisions of her house; nor had the King one shilling towards the support of himself and his family.

As soon as his Majesty came to Paris, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at Antwerp, he commanded Seymour, who was of his Bedchamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr. Long, the King's Secretary, who was at Amsterdam, and had been removed from his attendance in Scotland by the Marquis of Argyle, writ to the Chancellor, "that he had received a letter from the King, by which he was required to let all his Majesty's servants who were in those parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them should repair to him to Paris, until they should receive farther order, since his Majesty could not yet resolve how long he should stay there: of which," Mr. Long said, "he thought it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the Lord Colepepper and himself, who had resolved to have made haste thither, had in obedience to this command laid aside that purpose." The Chancellor concluded that this inhibition concerned not him, since he had received a command from the King to wait upon him. Besides, he had still the character of ambassador upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kissed his Majesty's hand. So he pursued his former purpose, and came to Paris in the Christmas, and found that the command to Mr. Long had been procured with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there being some there who had no mind he should be with the King; though, when

The King sends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to him in Christmas at Paris.

Where he
receives
from the
King this
account of
his Maje-
sty's deliver-
ance.

when there was no remedy, the Queen received him graciously. But the King was very well pleased with his being come; and, for the first four or five days, he spent many hours with him in private, and informed him of very many particulars, of the harsh treatment he had received in Scotland, the reason of his march into England, the confusion at Worcester, and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For besides all those particulars which the King himself was pleased to communicate to him, so soon after the transactions of them, when they had made so lively an impression in his memory, and of which the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily conversation of the Lord Wilmot; who informed him of all he could remember: and sometimes the King and he recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's blessed return into England, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the escape; whereof some were of the Chancellor's nearest alliance, and others his most intimate friends; towards whom his Majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgment: so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no diary made, indeed no exact account of every hour's adventure from the coming out of Worcester, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his embarkation at Brighthelmstone; in which there was such a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generosity, in persons of the meanest and lowest extraction

tion and condition, who did not know the value of the precious jewel that was in their custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who governed over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them; and in those who did know him, of such courage, loyalty, and activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his power and glory, and for the conviction of the whole party, which had sinned so grievously; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcusable.

As the greatest brunt of the danger was diverted by these poor people, in his night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his life, before he fell into the hands of persons of better quality, and places of more conveniency, so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some ecclesiastical persons of the Romish persuasion; especially to those of the order of St. Bennet; which was the reason that he expressed more favours, after his restoration, to that order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary privileges about the service of the Queen, not concealing the reason why he did so; which ought to have satisfied all men, that his Majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigour of the laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a fountain of princely justice and gratitude, and of royal bounty and clemency.

Whilst the counsels and enterprises in Scotland and England had this woeful issue, Ireland had no better The affairs of Ireland at this time. success in its undertakings. Cromwell had made so

great a progress in his conquests, before he left that kingdom to visit Scotland, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable and best inhabited provinces, *Lemster* and *Munster*; and plainly discerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly and perfidiousness of the Irish themselves; who would save their enemies a labour, in contributing to and hastening their own destruction. He had made the bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into foreign countries, by levies and transportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertained agents, and spies, as well friars as others amongst the Irish, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the halter than the sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the government of the kingdom, to his son in law

*Ireton made
Lord Deputy
by Cromwell.*

Ireton; whom he made Deputy under him of Ireland: a man, who knew the bottom of all his counsels and purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his nature, and most inclined to pursue those rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And he, without fighting a battle, though he lived not many months after, reduced most of the rest that *Cromwell* left unfinished.

The Marquis of Ormond's condition there.

The Marquis of *Ormond* knew and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the Irish, for the support of the King's authority :

city: yet there were many of the nobility and principal gentry of the Irish, in whose loyalty towards the King, and affection and friendship towards his own person, he had justly all confidence; and there were amongst the Romish Clergy some moderate men, who did detest the savage ignorance of the rest: so that he entertained still some hope, that the wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the King's dignity and authority, and that the wonderful judgments of God, which were every day executed by Ireton upon the principal and most obstinate contrivers of their odious rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the King, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their sottish lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their nation. For there was scarce a man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the rebellion, or whose barbarous violation of the peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the King's mercy, and left them only subjects of his justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by Ireton, and hanged with all the circumstances of severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable examples might be given.

There yet remained free from Cromwell's yoke, the two large provinces of Connaught and of Ulster, and the two strong cities of Limerick and of Galloway, both garrisoned with Irish, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good port towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of Ormond, his Majesty's Lieu-

tenant. And there were still many good regiments of horse and foot together under Preston, who seemed to be ready to perform any service the Marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humours, by sacrificing somewhat of his honour, and much of his authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to Ireton's career. O'Neile at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had seen his bosom friend, and sole counsellor, the Bishop of Clogher, (who had managed the treaty with Monk, and was taken prisoner upon the defeat of his forces), hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, sent "to offer his service to the Marquis of Ormond with
 " the army under his command, upon such conditions
 " as the Marquis thought fit to send to him;" and it was reasonably believed that he did intend very sincerely, and would have done very good service; for he was the best soldier of the nation, and had the most command over his men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that treaty produced no effect; for though many of his army prosecuted his resolution, and joined with the Marquis of Ormond, yet their officers had little power over their soldiers; who, being all of the old Irish Septs of Ulster, were entirely governed by the friars, and were shortly after prevailed upon, either to transport themselves, or to retire to their bogs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of persons or interest.

Owen Row
 O'Neile
 died, as he
 was going
 to join with
 the Mar-
 quis of Or-
 mond.

The Marquis's orders for drawing the troops together to any rendezvous were totally neglected and disobeyed;
 and

and the commissioners' orders for the collection of money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: so that such regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the friars; as in the city of Limerick, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed several companies to be drawn into the market-place, to be employed upon a present expedition, an officer of good affections, and thought to have much credit with his soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely soldiers well armed, and disciplined, and having received his orders from the Marquis, who was upon the place, begun to march; when a Franciscan friar in his habit, and with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march:" upon which they all threw down their arms, and did as the friar directed them; who put the whole city into a mutiny: insomuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the magistrates of the city did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the people to obedience; and some of them were killed, and many wounded in the attempt. As an instance of those judgments from heaven which we lately mentioned in general, Patrick Fanning, who with the friar had the principal part in that sedition, the very next night after Ireton was possessed of that strong city, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the commissioners who adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the King's service, and to reduce their miserable country-

A mutiny in
Limerick,
whence the
Marquis of
Ormond
escaped.

men from effecting and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their warrants and summons neglected; when the others, who declined the service, and desired to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

The Popish
bishops
make an
assembly,
and publish
a declaration
against
the English.

They who appeared, after the first misfortune before Dublin, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the people, were the friars, and some of their inferior clergy. But now the titular bishops, who had been all made at Rome since the beginning of the rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an assembly of the bishops, (every one of which had signed the articles of the peace), and chose some of their clergy as a representative of their Church to meet at James Town; where, under the pretence of providing for the security of religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the war, and how the monies which had been collected had been issued out. They called the giving up the towns in Munster by the Lord Inchiquin's officers, "the conspiracy and treachery of all the English, out of their malice to Catholic religion;" and thereupon pressed the Lord Lieutenant to dismiss all the English gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unprosperous accident that had fallen out, "a foul miscarriage;" and published a declaration full of libellous invectives against the English, without sparing the person of the Lord Lieutenant; who, they said, "being of a contrary religion, and a known inveterate enemy to the Catholic, was not fit to be entrusted with the conduct of a war that was raised for the support and preservation of it;" and shortly after sent an address to the Lord Lieutenant himself, in which they told him, "that the people were so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion from
" the

“ the Catholic religion, and his favouring heretics, that
 “ they were unanimously resolved, as one man, not to
 “ submit any longer to his command, nor to raise any
 “ more money, or men, to be applied to the King’s
 “ service under his authority.” But, on the other side,
 they assured him, “ that their duty and zeal was so en-
 “ tire and real for the King, and their resolution so
 “ absolute never to withdraw themselves from his obedi-
 “ ence, that, if he would depart the kingdom, and com-
 “ mit the command thereof into the hands of any per-
 “ son of honour of the Catholic religion, he would
 “ thereby unite the whole nation to the King; and
 “ they would immediately raise an army that should drive
 “ Ireton quickly again into Dublin;” and, that the Lord
 Lieutenant might know that they would not depart
 from this determination, they published soon after an
 excommunication against all persons who should obey
 any of the Lieutenant’s orders, or raise money or men
 by virtue of his authority.

During all these agitations, many of the Roman Ca-
 tholic nobility, and other persons of the best quality, re-
 mained very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cor-
 dially interposed with the Popish bishops to prevent
 their violent proceedings; but had not power either to
 persuade or restrain them. The Lord Lieutenant had
 no reason to be delighted with his empty title to com-
 mand a people who would not obey, and knew the daily
 danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into
 the hands of Ireton, or being assassinated in his own
 quarters. And though he did not believe that the
 Irish would behave themselves with more fidelity and
 courage for the King’s interest, when he should be
 gone; well knowing that their bishops and clergy de-
 signed nothing but to put themselves under the govern-

ment of some Popish prince, and had at that time sent agents into foreign parts for that purpose ; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth men enough, and arms, and all provisions for the carrying on the war, who, if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power Ireton could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposit the King's authority in the hands of a person of unquestionable fidelity, whom the King would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the Irish could not except against, being of their own nation, of the greatest fortune and interest amongst them, and of the most eminent constancy to the Roman Catholic religion of any man in the three kingdoms ; and that was the Marquis of Clanrickard. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself, and it was in his power safely to make the experiment, whether the Irish would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the King, if he should not consent to that expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the Marquis of Clanrickard to accept the trust, who was a man, though of an unquestionable courage, yet, of an infirm health ; and loved and enjoyed great ease throughout his whole life ; and of a constitution not equal to the fatigue and distresses, that the conducting such a war must subject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly detested, the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his countrymen : nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the Popish bishops and clergy, and the exorbitant power which they had assumed, and usurped to themselves ; and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a command. But by the extraordinary

traordinary importunity of the Marquis of Ormond, with whom he had preserved a fast and unshaken friendship, and his pressing him to preserve Ireland to the King, without which it would throw itself into the arms of a foreigner; and then the same importunity from all the Irish nobility, bishops, and clergy, (after the Lord Lieutenant had informed them of his purpose), "that he would preserve his nation, which, without his acceptance of their protection, would infallibly be extirpated," and their joint promise, "that they would absolutely submit to all his commands, and hold no assembly or meeting amongst themselves, without his permission and commission," together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might possibly bring some advantage to his Majesty's service, he was in the end prevailed upon to receive a commission from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of Ireland, and undertook that charge.

The Marquis of Ormond makes the Marquis of Clanrickard his Deputy.

How well they complied afterwards with their promises and protestations, and how much better subjects they proved to be under their Catholic governor, than they had been under their Protestant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of Ormond would not receive a pass from Ireton, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the English officers that desired it; but embarked himself, with some few gentlemen besides his own servants, in a small frigate, and arrived safely in Normandy; and so went to Caen; where his wife and family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the King's defeat at Worcester, and, as soon as his Majesty arrived

The Marquis of Ormond embarks for France, and waits on the King at Paris after his Majesty's escape from Worcester.

arrived at Paris, he forthwith attended him, and was most welcome to him.

Scotland being subdued, and Ireland reduced to that obedience as the Parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in England for the King's advantage. From the time that Cromwell was chosen General in the place of Fairfax, he took all occasions to discountenance the Presbyterians, and to put them out of all trust and employment, as well in the country as in the army; and, whilst he was in Scotland, he had intercepted some letters from one Love, a Presbyterian minister in London, (a fellow who hath been mentioned before, in the time the treaty was at Uxbridge, for preaching against peace), to a leading preacher in Scotland; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive instances that justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which the Presbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmost power, the man was condemned and executed upon Tower-hill. And, to shew their impartiality, about the same time they executed Brown Bushel, who had formerly served the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion, and shortly after served the King to the end of the war, and had lived some years in England after the war expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, was enviously discovered, and put to death.

Love, a
Presbyterian minister, executed.

It is a wonderful thing what operation this Presbyterian spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor man Love, who had been guilty of as much treason against the King, from the beginning of the rebellion, as the pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that
kind

kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his affection to the King. And therefore, when he was upon the scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness, he seemed so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the bishops, that he could not even then forbear to speak with animosity and bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a martyr, and to give testimony for the Covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends," he said, "of that sanctified obligation, to which he was in and by his conscience engaged." And in this raving fit, without so much as praying for the King, otherwise than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his head upon the block with as much courage as the bravest and honestest man could do in the most pious occasion.

When Cromwell returned to London, he caused several high courts of justice to be erected, by which many gentlemen of quality were condemned, and executed in many parts of the kingdom, as well as in London, who had been taken prisoners at Worcester, or discovered to have been there. And, that the terror might be universal, some suffered for loose discourses in taverns, what they would do towards restoring the King, and others for having blank commissions found in their hands signed by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the royal and loyal party lay

Cromwell causes several high courts of justice to be erected.

lay groveling, and prostrate, after the defeat of Worcester.

There was at this time with the King the Marquis of Ormond; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majesty was now in unquestionable safety, the straits and necessities he was in were as unquestionable; which exposed him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the masters of very indigent families are subjected to; and the more, because all men considered only his dignity, and not his fortune: so that men had the same emulations and ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper reverencies, because he could not grant the possession; and were solicitous for honours, which he had power to grant, because he had not fortunes to give them.

The King's necessities at Paris.

The friendship between the Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

There had been a great acquaintance between the Marquis of Ormond, when he was Lord Thurles, in the life of his grandfather, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correspondence, when they both came to have shares in the public business, the one in Ireland, and the other in England: so that when they now met at Paris, they met as old friends, and quickly understood each other so well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between men. The Marquis consulted with him in his nearest concerns, and the Chancellor esteemed and cultivated the friendship with all possible industry and application. The King was abundantly satisfied in the friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by persons of no ordinary account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence

confidence between them, during the whole time the King remained beyond the seas; whereby the King's perplexed affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the trust.

Besides the wants and necessities which the King was pressed with in respect of himself, who had nothing; but was obliged to find himself by credit in clothes, and all other necessaries for his person, and of his family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his brother the Duke of ^{These necessities and factions of the} York's family, and by the disorder and faction in it. ^{Duke of York's family.} The Queen complained heavily of Sir George Ratcliff, and the Attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some right of being of the Duke's family by a grant of the late King; which his present Majesty determined against him; and reprehended his activity in the last summer. Sir John Berkley had most of the Queen's favour; and, though he had at that time no interest in the Duke's affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his Royal Highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no man acted the governor's part more imperiously than he had done whilst the Lord Byron was absent, finding that he himself was liable in some degree to be governed upon that lord's return, he had used all the ways he could, that the Duke might be exempted from any subjection to a governor, presuming, that, when that title should be extinguished, he should be possessed of some such office and relation, as should not be under the control of any but

but the Duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stayed at Paris when his Highness visited Flanders and Holland. Now he took advantage of the activity of the Duke's spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his honour to put himself into action, and not to be learning his exercises in Paris whilst the army was in the field:" a proposition first intimated by the Cardinal, "that the Duke was now of years to learn his *métier*, and had now the opportunity to improve himself, by being in the care of a general reputed equal to any captain in Christendom, with whom he might learn that experience, and make those observations, as might enable him to serve the King his brother, who must hope to recover his right only by the sword." This the Cardinal had said both to the Queen and to the Lord Jermyn, whilst the King was in Scotland, when no man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture. But, after the King's return from England, there wanted nothing but the approbation of his Majesty; and no man more desired it than the Lord Byron, who had had good command, and preferred that kind of life before that which he was obliged to live in at Paris. There was no need of spurs to be employed to incite the Duke; who was most impatient to be in the army. And therefore Sir John Berkley could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "that whosoever opposed it, and dissuaded the King from giving his consent, was an enemy to his Highness's glory, and desired that he should live always in pupillage;" not omitting to put him in mind, "that his very entrance into the army set him at liberty, and put him into his own disposal; since no man went
" into

“ into the field under the direction of a governor;” still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that resolution, or endeavour to persuade the King not to approve it; “ which,” he told him, “ could proceed from “ nothing but want of affection to his person.” By this means he hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an argument that pleased him.

The Duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissimulated not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reserved in the point; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less concerned for his safety than they ought to be. His Highness then conferred with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the King, amongst whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highness was confirmed in the jealousy which Sir John Berkley had kindled in him, that he was the principal person who obstructed the King’s condescension. There was at that time no man with the King who had been a counsellor to his father, or sworn to himself, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of Ormond, though he had administered the affairs in Ireland, was never sworn a counsellor in England; yet his Majesty looked upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a body, as should be esteemed by all men as his Privy Council, without whose advice he would take no resolutions. The King knew the
Queen

The King
appoints a
new Coun-
cil.

Queen would not be well pleased, if the Lord Jermyn were not one; who in all other respects was necessary to that trust, since all addressees to the Court of France were to be made by him: and the Lord Wilmot, who had cultivated the King's affection during the time of their peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his service, could not be left out. The King therefore called the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Jermyn, and the Lord Wilmot, to the Council Board; and declared, "that they three, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, should be consulted with in all his affairs." The Queen very earnestly pressed the King, "that Sir John Berkley might likewise be made a counsellor;" which his Majesty would not consent to; and thought he could not refuse the same honour to the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Byron, or any other person who should wait upon him, if he granted it to Sir John Berkley, who had no manner of pretence.

Sir John
Berkley
pretends to
the Master-
ship of the
Wards.

Berkley took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the services he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other men. But, because he would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a right he had, by a promise of the late King, to be Master of the Wards; and that officer had usually been of the Privy Council. The evidence he had of that promise was an intercepted letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had caused to be printed. In that letter the King answered a letter he had received from her Majesty, in which she put him in mind, "that he had promised her to make Jack Berkley" (which was the style in the letter) "Master of the Wards;" which,
the

the King said, "he wondered at, since he could not remember that she had ever spoken to him to that purpose;" implying likewise "that he was not fit for it." He pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer "to urge this matter of right to the King," (and said, "the Queen would declare the King had promised it to her), "and to prevail with his Majesty to make him presently Master of the Wards; which would give him such a title to the Board, that others could not take his being called thither as a prejudice to them."

The Chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late King had not so good an opinion of Sir John Berkley, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into him, the King had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that office at Oxford to the Lord Cottington; who executed it as long as offices were executed under the grant of the Crown, and was possessed of the title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "the King could not at this time do a more ungracious thing, that would lose him more the hearts and affections of the nobility and gentry of England, than in making a Master of the Wards, in a time when it would not be the least advantage to his Majesty or the officer, to declare that he resolved to insist upon that part of his prerogative which his father had consented to part with; the resuming whereof in the full rigour, which

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“ he might lawfully do, would ruin most of the estates
“ of England, as well of his friends as enemies, in regard
“ of the vast arrears incurred in so many years; and
“ therefore whatever his Majesty might think to re-
“ solve hereafter, when it should please God to restore
“ him, for the present there must be no thought of such
“ an officer.”

Sir John Berkley was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alleged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, “ since his friends would not, he would himself require justice of the King;” and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor’s contradiction, pressed his Majesty “to make good the promise his father had made;” and magnified the services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the custom of making frequent relations of his own actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which nobody else ever heard of. The King, who knew him very well, and believed little of his history, and less of his father’s promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial, (which in his nature his Majesty affected not), lest it might indispose his mother or his brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his Majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alleged;
that

that at the last the King prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him. The King denies it him.

All this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the King from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that audience from his Majesty, he declared, "that he knew all that "indisposition had been infused by him; because many "of the reasons, which his Majesty had given against "his doing what he desired, were the very same that the "Chancellor had urged to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reasonable man, who had been called to consult upon that subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of his best friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk with the Chancellor shortly after; and, in a very calm, though a very confused discourse, told him, "that, since he was resolved to break "all friendship with him, which had continued now "near twenty years, he thought it but just to give him "notice of it, that from henceforward he might not "expect any friendship from him, but that they might "live towards each other with that civility only that "strangers use to do." The Chancellor told him, "that the same justice that disposed him to give this "notice, should likewise oblige him to declare the reason "of this resolution;" and asked him, "whether he had "ever broken his word to him? or promised to do what "he had not done?" He answered, "his exception was, "that he could not be brought to make any promise; "and that their judgments were so different, that he "would no more depend upon him:" and so they parted,

Where-
upon Sir
John breaks
with the
Chancellor.

parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remained in France.

Delibera-
tion in the
Council,
whether
the Duke of
York should
go into the
French
army.

The spring was now advanced, and the Duke of York continued his importunity with the King, "that he might have his leave to repair to the army." And thereupon his Majesty called his Council together, the Queen his mother and his brother being likewise present. There his Majesty declared "what his brother had long desired of him; to which he had hitherto given no other answer, than that he would think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought it necessary to receive their advice:" nor did his Majesty in the least discover what he himself was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had desired of the King; and said, "he thought he asked nothing but what became him; if he did not, he hoped the King would not deny it to him, and that nobody would advise he should." The Queen spoke not a word; and the King desired the lords to deliver their opinion; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed rule of the Board, but sometimes, according to the nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in quality; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to speak first. He said, "it could not be expected, that he would deliver his opinion in a matter that was so much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought; at least, till the question was otherwise stated than it yet seemed to him to be." He said, "he thought the Council would not be willing to take it upon them to advise that the Duke of York, the next heir

" heir to the Crown, should go a volunteer into the
 " French army, and that the exposing himself to so
 " much danger, should be the effect of their counsel
 " who ought to have all possible tenderness for the
 " safety of every branch of the royal family ; but if the
 " Duke of York, out of his own princely courage, and
 " to attain experience in the art of war, of which there
 " was like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to
 " visit the army, and to spend that campaign in it, and
 " that the question only was, whether the King should
 " restrain him from that expedition, he was ready to de-
 " clare his opinion, that his Majesty should not ; there
 " being great difference between the King's advising
 " him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely
 " suffering him to do what his own genius inclined him
 " to." The King and Queen liked the stating of the
 question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought
 to have ; and the Duke was as well pleased with it,
 since it left him at the liberty he desired ; and the lords
 thought it safest for them : and so all were pleased ;
 and much of the prejudice which the Duke had enter-
 tained towards the Chancellor was abated : and his
 Royal Highness, with the good liking of the French
 Court, went to the army ; where he was received by the
 Marshal of Turenne, with all possible demonstration of
 respect ; where, in a short time, he got the reputation
 of a Prince of very signal courage, and to be universally
 beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.

The Duke
goes to the
army.

The insupportable necessities of the King were now
 grown so notorious, that the French Court was compelled
 to take notice of them ; and thereupon, with some dry
 compliments for the smallness of the assignation in
 respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed
 were not in any good posture, they settled an assigna-

The assignation of six thousand livres by the month settled upon the King by the French Court.

tion of six thousand livres by the month upon the King, payable out of such a gabel; which, being to begin six months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The Queen, at his Majesty's first arrival, had declared, "that she was not able to bear the charge of the King's diet, but that he must pay one half of the expence of her table, where both their Majesties eat, with the Duke of York, and the Princess Henrietta," (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of York was upon the King's account), and the very first night's supper which the King eat with the Queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the King: so that the first money that was received for the King upon his grant, was entirely stopped by Sir Harry Wood, the Queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the Queen's table, (which expence was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured), and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for clothes and other necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the Marquis of Ormond himself being compelled to put himself in pension, with other gentlemen, at a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris; whilst the Lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the King had the most urgent occasion for the use but of twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had

had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assigned by the King of France, his necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the King went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into Spain, he sent likewise the Lord Colepepper into Moscow, to borrow money of that duke; and into Poland he sent Mr. Crofts upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the King was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his Majesty made his escape from Worcester. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his Majesty's service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expence of their journeys.

But, as if the King had been out of all possible danger to want money, the Lord Jermyn had sent an express into Scotland, as soon as he knew what success the Lord Colepepper had at Moscow, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the King (who could with more ease grant, than deny) warrants under his hand to both those envoys, to pay the monies they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the Queen, more to the Lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the askers; whereof Dr. Goffe had eight hundred pounds for services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the Oratory: so that, when the King returned in all that distress to Paris, he never received five hundred pistoles from the proceed of both those embassies;

bassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty, seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any service upon their own expence; of which the King was sensible enough, but resolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

The Lord Jermyn, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to religion, was always of some faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyterians from the time that there had been any treaties with the Scots, in which he had too much privity. And now, upon the King's return into France, he had a great design to persuade his Majesty to go to the congregation at Charenton, to the end that he might keep up his interest in the Presbyterian party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the King service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their overtures. The Queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the religion of the Church of Rome. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the King to change his religion, as well out of observation of the injunction laid upon her by the deceased King, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the change of his religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering England desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from Worcester, she did really despair of his being restored by the affections of his own subjects; and believed that it could
never

never be brought to pass without a conjunction of Catholic princes on his behalf, and by an united force to restore him ; and that such a conjunction would never be entered into, except the King himself became Roman Catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any attempts should be made upon him to that purpose ; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to Charenton ; which she well knew was not the religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the Church in which he had been bred ; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The King had not positively refused to gratify the ministers of that congregation ; who, with great professions of duty, had besought him to do them that honour, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him ; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the death of Dr. Steward ; for whose judgment in matters of religion the King had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his father : and he died after the King's return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the King to go to Charenton, though he saw no disposition in his Majesty to yield to it.

The ministers of Charenton press the King to come to their Church ; and are seconded by the Lord Jermyn.

Dr. Steward dies presently after the King's return into France.

• The Lord Jermyn still pressed it, “ as a thing that ought in policy and discretion to be done, to reconcile that people, which was a great body in France, to the King's service, which would draw to him all the foreign Churches, and thereby he might receive considerable assistance.” He wondered, he said, “ why it should be opposed by any man ; since he did not wish that his Majesty would discontinue his own devotions, according to the course he had always observed ;

“served; nor propose that he should often repair
 “thither, but only sometimes, at least once, to shew
 “that he did look upon them as of the same religion
 “with him; which the Church of England had always
 “acknowledged; and that it had been an instruction
 “to the English ambassadors, that they should keep a
 “good correspondence with those of the religion, and
 “frequently resort to divine service at Charenton; where
 “they had always a pew kept for them.”

The Chan-
 cellor of the
 Exchequer
 dissuaded
 him from it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer dissuaded his Ma-
 jefty from going thither with equal earnestness; told
 him, “that, whatever countenance or favour the Crown
 “or Church of England had heretofore shewed to those
 “congregations, it was in a time when they carried
 “themselves with modesty and duty towards both, and
 “when they professed great duty to the King, and
 “much reverence to that Church; lamenting them-
 “selves, that it was not in their power, by the opposition
 “of the State, to make their reformation so perfect as it
 “was in England. And by this kind of behaviour
 “they had indeed received the protection and counte-
 “nance from England as if they were of the same reli-
 “gion, though, it may be, the original of that coun-
 “tenance and protection proceeded from another less
 “warrantable foundation; which he was sure would
 “never find credit from his Majesty. But, whatever it
 “was, that people now had undeserved it from the
 “King; for, as soon as the troubles begun, the Hugo-
 “nots of France had generally expressed great malice
 “to the late King, and very many of their preachers
 “and ministers had publicly and industriously justified
 “the rebellion, and prayed for the good success of it;
 “and their synod itself had in such a manner inveighed
 “against the Church of England, that they, upon the
 “matter,

“ matter, professed themselves to be of another religion;
“ and inveighed against episcopacy, as if it were incon-
“ sistent with the Protestant religion. That one of
“ their great professors at their University of Saumur,
“ who was looked upon as a man of the most moderate
“ spirit amongst their ministers, had published an apo-
“ logy for the general inclination of that party to the
“ proceedings of the Parliament of England, lest it
“ might give some jealousy to their own King of their
“ inclination to rebellion, and of their opinion that it
“ was lawful for subjects to take up arms against their
“ Prince; which, he said, could not be done in France
“ without manifest rebellion, and incurring the dis-
“ pleasure of God for the manifest breach of his com-
“ mandments; because the King of France is an abso-
“ lute King, independent upon any other authority.
“ But that the constitution of the kingdom of England
“ was of another nature; because the King there is
“ subordinate to the Parliament, which hath authority
“ to raise arms for the reformation of religion, or for
“ the executing the public justice of the kingdom
“ against all those who violate the laws of the nation, so
“ that the war might be just there, which in no case
“ could be warrantable in France.”

The Chancellor told the King, “ that, after such an
“ indignity offered to him, and to his Crown, and since
“ they had now made such a distinction between the
“ Episcopal and the Presbyterian government, that they
“ thought the professors were not of the same religion,
“ his going to Charenton could not be without this ef-
“ fect, that it would be concluded every where, that his
“ Majesty thought the one or the other profession to be
“ indifferent; which would be one of the most deadly
“ wounds to the Church of England that it had yet
“ ever

The King
declared he
would not
do.

“ever suffered.” These reasons prevailed so far with the King’s own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, “he would never go to Charenton;” which determination eased him from any farther application of that people. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable enemy of all Presbyterians, and as the only man who diverted the King from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he received from the King himself of their barbarous behaviour in Scotland towards him, and of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their profession; and he was the more grievous to those of that profession, because they could not, as they used to do all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being popishly affected, and governed by the Papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the Queen’s knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the King from going to Charenton.

There was another accident, which fell out at this time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the Queen’s prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her Majesty’s favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and, in consistence with that, did never, in the least degree, dispose his Majesty to deny any thing to her which she owned the desire of. Lieutenant General Middleton, who had been taken prisoner after Worcester fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was sent prisoner to the Tower of London; where were likewise many noble persons of that nation,

as

as the Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Lauderdale, and many others. But as they of the Parliament had a greater regard for Middleton than for any other of that country, knowing him to be a man of great honour and courage, and much the best officer the Scots had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the war, served them; and though he had quitted their service at the same time when they cashiered the Earl of Essex, and made their new model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new High Court of Justice, for the trial of some persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially Middleton and Maffey.

This last, after he had escaped from Worcester, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his wounds, that being near the seat of the Earl of Stamford, whose Lieutenant Colonel he had been in the beginning of the war, and being well known to his lady, he chose to commit himself to her rather than to her husband; hoping, that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person; and such advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by the High Court of Justice together with Middleton, for the future security of the Commonwealth.

Middleton and Maffey, prisoners in the Tower, designed to be tried by a High Court of Justice.

But now the Presbyterian interest shewed itself, and doubtless,

doubtless, in enterprises of this nature, was very powerful; having in all places persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their orders, though they did not pretend to be of their party. And the time approaching that they were sure Middleton was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular advertisement, that he took his leave of his friends in the Tower, and made his escape; and having friends enough to shelter him in London, after he had concealed himself there a fortnight or three weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and enquiry was over, he was safely transported into France. And within few days after, Masséy had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell; who thirsted for the blood of those two persons.

Middleton makes his escape into France.

And Masséy escapes.

An account of Scotland brought to the King by a Scottish vicar that Middleton brought with him.

When Middleton came to the King to Paris, he brought with him a little Scottish vicar, who was known to the King, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his Majesty, and some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and other dispatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had escaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole nation by the severe proceedings of General Monk, to whose care Cromwell had committed the reduction of that kingdom, upon the taking of Dundee, where persons of all degrees and qualities were put to the sword after the town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places rendered. All men complained of the Marquis of Argyle, who prosecuted the King's friends with the utmost malice, and protected and preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave the King assurance from the most considerable persons, who had retired into the Highlands, "that they would never

"swerve

“ swerve from their duty; and that they would be able,
 “ during the winter, to infest the enemy by incursions
 “ into their quarters; and that, if Middleton might be
 “ sent to them with some supply of arms, they would
 “ have an army ready against the spring, strong enough
 “ to meet with Monk.” He said, “ he was addressed
 “ from Scotland to the lords in the Tower, who did not
 “ then know that Middleton had arrived in safety with
 “ the King; and therefore they had commanded him, if
 “ neither Middleton nor the Lord Newburgh were about
 “ his Majesty, that then he should repair to the Mar-
 “ quis of Ormond, and desire him to present him to the
 “ King; but that, having found both those lords there,
 “ he had made no farther application than to them, who
 “ had brought him to his Majesty.” He told the King,
 “ that both those in Scotland, and those in the Tower, The re-
quests to the
King of his
friends
there.
 “ made it their humble request, or rather a condition to
 “ his Majesty; that, except it were granted, they would
 “ no more think of serving his Majesty: the condition
 “ was, that whatever should have relation to his service
 “ in Scotland, and to their persons who were to venture
 “ their lives in it, might not be communicated to the
 “ Queen, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Jermyn, or
 “ the Lord Wilmot. They professed all duty to the
 “ Queen, but they knew she had too good an opinion
 “ of the Marquis of Argyle; who would infallibly come
 “ to know whatever was known to either of the other.”

The King did not expect that any notable service
 could be performed by his friends in Scotland for his
 advantage, or their own redemption; yet did not think
 it fit to seem to undervalue the professions and over-
 tures of those who had, during his being amongst them,
 made all possible demonstration of affection and duty
 to him; and therefore resolved to grant any thing they
 desired;

desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the Queen, or the other three lords. But since they proposed present dispatches to be made of commissions and letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desired, "that all matters relating to Scotland might be consulted by his Majesty with the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Newburgh, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that all the dispatches might be made by the Chancellor;" which the King consented to; and bid the Lord Newburgh go with them to him, and let them know his Majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the Lord Newburgh brought Middleton to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The King appoints the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make all dispatches for Scotland.

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor's opinion concerning the King's affairs at that time.

The Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor of the Exchequer believed that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian Princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own discontents, and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her grace and good acceptance. But the designation of them to this Scottish intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of peace and tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes.

The

The Chancellor therefore went presently to the King, and besought him with earnestness, "that he would not lay that burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the counsels of that people." He put his Majesty in mind of "the continued avowed jealousy and displeasure which that whole party in that nation had ever had against him; and that his Majesty very well knew, that those noble persons who served him best when he was in Scotland, and in whose affection and fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had some prejudice against him, and would be troubled when they should hear that all their secrets were committed to him." He told his Majesty, "this trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the Queen's favour; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the Scottish vicar to him," (who had the vanity to desire long conferences with him), "that there was some secret in hand which was kept from her; and she would as easily discover, that the Chancellor was privy to it, by his reading papers to his Majesty, and his signing them; and would from thence conclude, that he had persuaded him to exclude her Majesty from that trust; which she would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, "that he might be excused from this confidence."

The King heard him with patience and attention enough; and confessed, "that he had reason not to be solicitous for that employment; but he wished him to consider withal, that he must either undertake it, or that his Majesty must in plain terms reject the correspondence; which, he said, he thought he would not advise him to do. If his Majesty entertained it, it could not be imagined that all those transactions

The Chancellor of the Exchequer desires the King not to employ him in the Scottish affairs.

The King's reply to him.

“ could pass through his own hand, or, if they could,
 “ his being shut up so long alone would make the same
 “ discovery. Whom then should he trust? The Lord
 “ Newburgh, it was very true, was a very honest man,
 “ and worthy of any trust; but he was not a counsellor,
 “ and nothing could be so much wondered at, as his
 “ frequent being shut up with him; and more, his
 “ bringing any papers to him to be signed. As to the
 “ general prejudice which he conceived was against him
 “ by that party,” his Majesty told him, “ the nation
 “ was much altered since he had to do with them, and
 “ that no men were better loved by them now than
 “ they who had from the beginning been faithful to his
 “ father and himself.” To which he added, “ that Mid-
 “ dleton had the least in him, of any infirmities most
 “ incident to that party, that he knew: and that he
 “ would find him a man of great honour and ingenuity;
 “ with whom he would be well pleased.” His Majesty
 said, “ he would frankly declare to his mother, that he
 “ had received some intelligence out of Scotland, and
 “ that he was obliged, and had given his word to those
 “ whose lives would be forfeited if known, that he
 “ would not communicate it with any but those who
 “ were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could
 “ not be offended with his reservation:” and concluded
 with a gracious conjuration and command to the Chan-
 cellor, “ that he should cheerfully submit, and undergo
 “ that employment; which, he assured him, should
 “ never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to
 “ him.” In this manner he submitted himself to the
 King’s disposal, and was trusted throughout that affair;
 which had several stages in the years following, and did
 produce the inconveniences he had foreseen, and ren-
 dered him so unacceptable to the Queen, that she ea-
 sily

The Chan-
 cellor sub-
 mits; and
 was accord-
 ingly trust-
 ed in these
 affairs.

fly entertained those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compelled to bear many hardships.

This uncomfortable condition of the King was rendered yet more desperate, by the straits and necessities into which the French Court was about this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had shewed no very good will to assist the King, were now become really unable to do it. The Parliament of Paris had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their King's commands, pressed so importunately for the liberty of the Princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at last compelled to persuade the Queen to consent to both: and so himself rid to Havre de Grace, and delivered the Queen's warrant to set them at liberty, and after a short conference with the Prince of Condé, he continued his own journey towards Germany, and passed in disguise, with two or three servants, till he came near Cologne, and there he remained at a house belonging to that Elector.

When the Princes came to Paris, they had received great welcome from the Parliament and the city; and instead of closing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: so that the King and Queen Regent withdrew from thence; the town was in arms; and fire and sword denounced against the Cardinal; his goods sold at an outcry; and a price set upon his head; and all persons who professed any duty to their King, found themselves very unsafe in Paris. During all this time the Queen of England and the King, with their families, remained in the Louvre, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the

affigments, which had been made for their subsistence, not being paid them : and the loose people of the town begun to talk of the Duke of York's being in arms against them. But the Duke of Orleans, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the Prince of Condé, visited our King and Queen with many professions of civility ; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the French King's army came upon one side of the town, and the Spanish, with the Duke of Lorraine's, upon the other. The French army thought they had the enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a battle with them ; which the other declined ; all which time, the Court had an underhand treaty with the Duke of Lorraine ; and, upon a day appointed, the French King sent to the King of England, to desire him to confer with the Duke of Lorraine ; who lay then with his army within a mile of the town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his Majesty's interposition could be of moment : yet his Majesty knew not how to refuse it ; but immediately went to the place assigned ; where he found both armies drawn up in battalia within cannon shot of each other. Upon his Majesty's coming to the Duke of Lorraine, the treaty was again revived, and messages sent between the Duke and Marshal Turenne. In fine, the night approaching, both armies drew off from their ground, and his Majesty returned to the Louvre ; and before the next morning, the treaty was finished between the Court and the Duke of Lorraine ; and he marched away with his whole army towards Flanders, and left the Spaniards to support the Parliament against the power of the French army ; which advanced upon them with that resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the Prince of Condé did the
office

office of a brave general in the Fauxbourg St. Marceaux, and at the port St. Antoine, in which places many gallant persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the city had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's army retired to their old post, four leagues off, and attended future advantages: the King having a very great party in the Parliament and the city, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the Spaniards into their bowels.

This retreat of the Duke of Lorrain, broke the neck of the Prince of Condé's design. He knew well he should not be long able to retain the Duke of Orleans from treating with the Court, or keep the Parisians at his devotion; and that the Duke de Beaufort, whom they had made Governor of Paris, would be weary of the contention. For the present, they were all incensed against the Duke of Lorrain; and were well enough contented that the people should believe, that this defection in the Duke was wrought by the activity and interposition of the King of England; and they who did know that his interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his Majesty's journey to speak with the Duke in so unseasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the people expressed, and used all the insolent reproaches against the English Court at the Louvre, and loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the Duke of Orleans, nor the Prince of Condé, made any visit there, or expressed the least civility towards it. In truth, our King and Queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirred out of the Louvre for many days, until the French Court thought themselves obliged to provide for their security, by advising the King and Queen to remove, and assigned St. Ger-

The King
of England
and his mo-
ther remove
to St. Ger-
main's.

main's to them for their retreat. Then his Majesty sent to the Duke of Orleans, and Prince of Condé, "that their purpose was to leave the town:" upon which there was a guard that attended them out of the town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some troops of horse sent by the French King, which conducted them by torch-light to St. Germain's; where they arrived about midnight; and remained there without any disturbance, till Paris was reduced to that King's obedience.

It is a very hard thing for people who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that a Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from faction and ambition; whilst every man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for conscience sake, which every man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the King from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any body else. But whilst there are Courts in the world, emulation and ambition will be inseparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title and pretence; and as they who receive the favours, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold men so unreasonably gratified and encouraged.

The

The King found no benefit of this kind in being stripped of all his dominions, and all his power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for honours, and offices, and revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and men who would not have had the presumption to have asked the same thing, if the King had been in England, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires, imputed it only to the ill nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that he alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious answers from his Majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit and interest he was thought to have with his master.

Solicitations for places in the King's Court.

The Lord Wilmot had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the King in his escape, drawn many kind expressions from his Majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a testimony of his grace and favour, as might distinguish him from other men, and publish the esteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majesty that he would make him an earl, referring the time of his creation to his Majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the King well knowing, that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he

promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his service.

There were projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the projectors still considered themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the success. The Duke of York was so well pleased with the fatigue of the war, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some advantages to themselves out of his appointments. Sir John Berkley was now, upon the death of the Lord Byron, by which the Duke was deprived of a very good servant, become the superior of his family, and called himself, without any authority for it, *Intendant des affaires de son Altesse Royale*; had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better revenue for his master, than the small pension he received from France; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a wife of a great and noble fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

The Lord
Byron, the
Duke's Go-
vernor,
dies.

There was then a lady in the town, Mademoiselle de Longueville, the daughter of the Duke de Longueville by his first wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair revenue, and had title to a very considerable sum of money, which her father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon as one of the greatest and richest marriages in France, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her person not at all attractive, being a lady of a very low stature, and that stature somewhat deformed. This lady Sir John designed for the Duke; and treated with those ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the education of her, before he

Sir John
Berkley de-
signs Made-
moiselle de
Longueville
for the
Duke's
wife.

he mentioned it to his Royal Highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in England were desperate: "that the government was so settled there, that it could "never be shaken; so that his Highness must think of "no other fortune than what he should make by his "sword: that he was now upon the stage where he "must act out his life, and that he should do well to "think of providing a civil fortune for himself, as well "as a martial; which could only be by marriage:" and then spoke of Mademoiselle de Longueville, and made her fortune at least equal to what it was; "which," he said, "when once his Highness was possessed of, he "might sell; and thereby raise money to pay an army to "invade England, and so might become the restorer of "the King his brother: this he thought very practicable, if his Highness seriously and heartily would "endeavour it." The Duke himself had no aversion from marriage, and the consideration of the fortune, and the circumstances which might attend it, made it not the less acceptable; yet he made no other answer to it, "than that he must first know the King's and Queen's "judgment of it, before he could take any resolution "what to do." Upon which Sir John undertook, with his Highness's approbation, to propose it to their Majesties himself, and accordingly first spoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was believed, that the first overture and attempt had not been made without her Majesty's privacy and approbation; for the Lord Jermyn had been no less active in the contrivance than Sir John Berkley: yet her Majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it, till she knew the King's: and so at last, after the young lady herself had been spoken to, his Majesty was informed of it,

it, and his approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his brother; though he did not dissemble his resentment of their presumption who undertook to enter upon treaties of that nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own kindred and allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his Majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgment was; and the Lord Jermyn spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the lady's friends would not easily be induced to give their consent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other answer, than, "that it was a subject so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the ambition to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less than the King's or Queen's command should not induce him to enter upon the discourse of it."

The Queen consults the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the marriage.

It was not long before the Queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he answered, "that he did not understand the convenience of it so well, as to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the Duke of York: but he thought, that neither the King, nor her Majesty, should be willing that the heir of the Crown should be married before the King himself; or that it should be in any woman's power to say, that, if there were but one person dead, she should be a Queen:" with which
her

her Majesty, who no doubt did love the King with all possible tendernefs, feemed to be moved, as if it had been a confideration ſhe had not thought of before; and ſaid, with ſome warmth, “that ſhe would never “give her conſent that it ſhould be ſo.” However, this argument was quickly made known to the Duke of York, and ſeveral głoſſes made upon it, to the reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made ſuch an impreſſion, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient wife for the King himſelf, and Mademoiſelle, the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by his firſt wife, who, in the right of her mother, was already poſſeſſed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy of Mompenſier, was thought of. To this the Queen was much inclined, and the King himſelf not averſe; both looking too much upon the relief it might give to his preſent neceſſities, and the convenience of having a place to reſoſe in, as long as the ſtorm ſhould continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no thought, by the concluſion he had made in the other overture, to have drawn on this propoſition; and the Marquis of Ormond and he were no leſs troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be looked upon as men of contradiction.

Mademoiſelle like-wife thought on for the King.

They repreſented to the King, “that, as it could ad-
 “miniſter only ſome competency towards his preſent
 “ſubſiſtence, ſo it might exceedingly prejudice his fu-
 “ture hopes, and alienate the affections of his friends
 “in England: that the lady was elder than he by ſome
 “years; which was an exception amongſt private per-
 “ſons; and had been obſerved not to be proſperous to
 “Kings: that his Maſteſty muſt expect to be preſſed to
 “thoſe things in point of religion which he could
 “never conſent to; and yet he ſhould undergo the
 “ſame

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's exceptions againſt this.

“ same disadvantage as if he had consented, by many
“ men’s believing he had done so.” They besought
him “ to set his heart entirely upon the recovery of
“ England, and to indulge to nothing that might rea-
“ sonably obstruct that, either by making him less in-
“ tent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in the pur-
“ suing it.” His Majesty assured them, “ that his heart
“ was set upon nothing else ; and, if he had inclination
“ to this marriage, it was because he believed it might
“ much facilitate the other : that he looked not upon
“ her fortune, which was very great, as an annual sup-
“ port to him, but as a stock that should be at his dis-
“ posal ; by sale whereof he might raise money enough
“ to raise a good army to attempt the recovery of his
“ kingdoms : and that he would be well assured, that it
“ should be in his power to make that use of it, before
“ he would be engaged in the treaty : that he had no
“ apprehension of the pressures which would be made
“ in matters of religion ; because, if the lady did once
“ consent to the marriage, she would affect nothing
“ but what might advance the recovery of his domi-
“ nions ; which she would quickly understand any un-
“ reasonable concessions in religion could never do.”
In a word, his Majesty discovered enough to let them
see that he stood well enough inclined to the over-
ture itself ; which gave them trouble, as a thing which,
in many respects, was like to prove very inconve-
nient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehension.
The lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf
of the Prince of Condé, and so offensively to the French
Court, having given fire herself to the cannon in the
Bastile upon the King at the port St. Antoine, and
done so many blameable things against the French King
and

and Queen, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now returned again, having long resolved, that our King should never owe any part of his restitution to any countenance or assistance he should receive from France; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all overtures which had concerned the Duke of York and the other lady. Both these designs come to nothing.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of Christendom; which many very reasonably believed, might have proved advantageous to the King. The Parliament, as soon as they had settled their Commonwealth, and had no enemy they feared, had sent ambassadors to their sister Republic, the States of the United Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter alliance with them, and, upon the matter, to be as one Commonwealth, and to have one interest. They were received in Holland with all imaginable respect, and as great expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm union might be established between the two Commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof, persons were appointed to treat with the ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the Prince of Orange, who could have given powerful obstructions in such cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the Provinces, and his son, an infant, born after the death of his father, at the mercy of the States even for his support; the two dowagers, his mother and grandmother, having great jointures out of the estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the treaty, Saint-John, who had the whole trust of the embassy, The Parliament sent ambassadors to Holland to invite them to a strict union, Saint-John being the chief. being

being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confident of Cromwell, pressed such a kind of union as must disunite them from all their other allies : so that, for the friendship of England, they must lose the friendship of other princes, and yet lose many other advantages in trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful Commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large overtures and concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest Kings, and were willing to quit some advantages they had enjoyed by all the treaties with the Crown of England, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

They return without any effect.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed : so that, after some months' stay, during which time they received many affronts from some English, and from others, they returned with great presents from the States, but without any effect by the treaty, or entering into any terms of alliance, and with the extreme indignation of Saint-John ; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the Parliament ; who, disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued, (that is, not valued above all the world besides), presently entered upon counsels how they might discountenance and control the trade of Holland, and increase their own.

The Parliament thereupon make the Act of Navigation.

Hereupon they made that Act, that "inhibits all
" foreign ships from bringing in any merchandise or
" commodities into England, but such as were the pro-
" ceed or growth of their own country, upon the pe-
" nalty of forfeiture of all such ships." This indeed
con-

concerned all other countries ; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world ; wine from France and Spain, spices from the Indies, and all commodities from all other countries ; which they must now do no more. The Dutch ambassador expostulated this matter very warmly, “ as a breach of commerce “ and amity, which could not consist with the peace “ between the two nations ; and that his masters could “ not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of “ war.” The Parliament answered him superciliously, “ that his masters might take it in what manner they “ pleased ; but they knew what was best for their own “ State, and would not repeal laws to gratify their “ neighbours ;” and caused the Act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had helped to raise an enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the infancy of their Republic, and when their government was manifestly odious to all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and the people generally weary of the taxes and impositions upon the nation for the support of their land-armies, the Parliament would venture to increase those taxes and impositions proportionably to maintain a new war at sea, at so vast an expence, as could not be avoided ; and therefore believed that they only made shew of this courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the spring, they set out a fleet stronger than of course they used to do ; which made no impression upon the English ; who never suspected

pected that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them. Besides that they were confident no such counsel and resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of Holland, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expence, but sent out their usual fleet for the guard of the coast at their season, and with no other instructions than they had been accustomed to.

Orders
from the
Admiralty
in Holland
to their
fleet, "not
"to strike
"to the
"English."

The Council of the Admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their instructions to the Admiral Van Trump, "that when he met any of the English ships of war, he should not strike to them, nor shew them any other respect than what they received from them; and if the English expostulated the matter, they should answer frankly, that the respect they had formerly shewed upon those encounters, was because the ships were the King's, and for the good intelligence they had with the Crown; but they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration of government, except there were some stipulation between them to that purpose: and if this answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigour." These instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the English commanders; who had their old instructions to oblige all foreign vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any nation.

It was about the beginning of May in the year 1652, that the Dutch fleet, consisting of above forty sail, under the command of Van Trump, rode at anchor in
Dover

Dover road, being driven by a strong wind, as they pretended, from the Flanders coast, when the English fleet, under the command of Blake, of a much less number, appeared in view; upon which the Dutch weighed anchor, and put out to sea, without striking their flag; which Blake observing, caused three guns to be fired without any ball. It was then observed, that there was an express ketch came, at the very time, from Holland, on board their Admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that express, received more positive orders to fight; for, upon the arrival of that express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the English fleet; and the three guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the advertisement, he discharged one single gun from his poop, and hung out a red flag; and came up to the English Admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his men, and damaged his ship. Whereupon, though Blake was surprised, as not expecting such an assault, he deferred not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the Dutch, they lost two ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the captains, and near two hundred prisoners. On the English side there were many slain, and more wounded, but no ship lost, nor officer of name. When the morning appeared, the Dutch were gone to their coast. And thus the war was entered into, before it was suspected in England.

The war
began upon
this ac-
count with
the Dutch.

With what consideration soever the Dutch had embarked themselves in this sudden enterprise, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill measures of the people's

The States
send two
ambassa-
dors into
England
about it.

ple's affections. For the news of this conflict was no sooner arrived in Holland, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they dispatched two extraordinary ambassadors into England; by whom they protested, "that the late unhappy engagement between
"the fleets of the two Commonwealths had happened
"without their knowledge, and contrary to the inten-
"tion of the Lords the States General: that they had
"received the fatal tidings of so rash an attempt and
"action, with amazement and astonishment; and that
"they had immediately entered into consultation, how
"they might best close this fresh bleeding wound, and
"to avoid the farther effusion of Christian blood, so
"much desired by the enemies of both States: and
"therefore they most earnestly desired them, by their
"mutual concurrence in religion, and by their mutual
"love of liberty, that nothing might be done with
"passion and heat; which would widen the breach;
"but that they might speedily receive such an answer,
"that there might be no farther obstruction to, the
"trade of both Commonwealths."

The Parlia-
ment's an-
swer to
them.

To which this answer was presently returned to them,
"that the civility which they had always shewed to-
"wards the States of the United Provinces was so no-
"torious, that nothing was more strange than the ill
"return they had made to them: that the extraordi-
"nary preparations which they had made, of a hundred
"and fifty ships, without any apparent necessity, and
"the instructions which had been given to their sea-
"officers, had administered too much cause to believe,
"that the Lords the States General of the United Pro-
"vinces had a purpose to usurp the known right which
"the

“ the English have to the seas, and to destroy their
 “ fleets ; which, under the protection of the Almighty,
 “ are their walls and bulwarks ; that so they might be
 “ exposed to the invasion of any powerful enemy :
 “ therefore they thought themselves obliged to endea-
 “ vour, by God’s assistance, to seek reparation for the
 “ injuries and damage they had already received, and
 “ to prevent the like for the future : however, they
 “ should never be without an intention and desire, that
 “ some effectual means might be found to establish a
 “ good peace, union, and right understanding, between
 “ the two nations.”

With this haughty answer they vigorously prosecuted their revenge, and commanded Blake presently to sail to the northward ; it being then the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coasts of Scotland, and the isles of Orkney, (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their trade over Europe) ; where he now found their multitude of fishing ^{Blake} boats, guarded by twelve ships of war ; most of which, ^{takes their} with the fish they had made ready, he brought away ^{fishing} with him as good prize. ^{buffs, and} ^{their guard-} ^{ships.}

When Blake was sent to the North, Sir George Ayscue, being just returned from the West Indies, was sent with another part of the fleet to the South ; who, at his very going out, met with thirty sail of their mer- ^{Sir G.} chants between Dover and Calais ; a good part whereof ^{Ayscue} he took or sunk ; and forced the rest to run on shore ^{takes or} upon the French coast ; which is very little better than ^{sinks thirty} being taken. From thence he stood westward ; and ^{sail of} near Plymouth, with thirty sail of men of war, he engaged the whole Dutch fleet, consisting of sixty ships ^{their mer-} of war, and thirty merchants. It was near four of the ^{chants :} clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to en- ^{fights the} ^{Dutch fleet} ^{near Ply-} ^{mouth.}

gage, so that the night quickly parted them ; yet not before two of the Holland ships of war were sunk, and most of the men lost ; the Dutch in that action applying themselves most to spoil the tackling and sails of the English ; in which they had so good success, that the next morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their sails and rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable Dutch ships into the ports of England, which, having begun their voyages before any notice given to them of the war, were making haste home without any fear of their security : so that, there being now no hope of a peace by the mediation of their ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned ; and the war was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The King thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this war, so briskly entered upon on both sides ; and when he had sat still till the return of the Dutch ambassadors from London, and that all treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a journey into Holland, and made such propositions upon the place as he might be advised to : but when his Majesty imparted this design to his friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither ; and assured, “ that it was so far
“ from being yet seasonable, that it would more ad-
“ vance a peace than any thing else that could be pro-
“ posed ; and would, for the present, bring the greatest
“ prejudice to his sister, and to the affairs of his nephew
“ the Prince of Orange, that could be imagined.”

The King hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce

duce the good he desired. The Dutch ambassa-^{The King at Paris proposes to Monsieur Borrel, the Dutch ambassador, that he would join his interest with theirs.} dor then resident at Paris, Monsieur Borrel, who had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, was very much devoted to the King's service, having been formerly ambassador in England, and had always dependence upon the Princes of Orange successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who visited him constantly once a week, and received advertisements and advices from him, and the ambassador frequently came to his lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor, and enjoining them secrecy, caused a paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very good reason to believe, "that there were many officers and seamen engaged in "the service of the English fleet, who undertook that "service in hope to find a good opportunity to serve "his Majesty; and that, if the Dutch were willing to "receive him, he would immediately put himself on "board their fleet, without requiring any command, "except of such ships only, as, upon their notice of his "being there, should repair to him out of the rebels' "fleet: by this means," he presumed, "he should be "able much to weaken their naval power, and to raise "divisions in the kingdom, by which the Dutch would "receive benefit and advantage." Having signed this paper, he sent the Chancellor with it open, to shew to the Dutch ambassador, and to desire him to send it inclosed in his letter to the States. The ambassador was very much surpris'd with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his affection to the King, and for his dependence upon the

house of Orange. In the end, he desired "the King
 " would inclose it in a letter to him, and oblige him to
 " send it to the States General:" which was done ac-
 cordingly; and he sent it by the post to the States.

The war had already made the councils of the States
 less united than they had been, and the party that was
 known to be inclined to the Prince of Orange recovered
 courage, and joined with those who were no friends to
 the war; and, when this message from the King was
 read, magnified the King's spirit in making this over-
 ture, and wished that an answer of very humble thanks
 and acknowledgment might be returned to his Majesty.
 They said, "no means ought to be neglected that
 " might abate the pride and power of the enemy:" and
 as soon as the people heard of it, they thought it rea-
 sonable to accept the King's offer. De Wit, who was
 Pensioner of Holland, and had the greatest influence
 upon their counsels, had no mind to have any con-
 junction with the King; which, he foresaw, must ne-
 cessarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of
 Orange, to whom he was an avowed and declared en-
 emy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous
 " offer of the King; but if they should accept it, they
 " could never recede from his interest; which, instead
 " of putting an end to the war, of which they were
 " already weary, would make it without end, and would
 " be the ruin of their State: that, whilst they were
 " free from being engaged in any interest but their own,
 " they might reasonably hope that both sides would be
 " equally weary of the war, and then a peace would
 " easily ensue; which they should otherwise put out of
 " their own power;" so that thanks were returned to the
 King for his good will; and they pursued their own
 method

Thanks re-
 turned to
 the King
 by the
 States, but
 his proposal
 laid aside.

method in their counsels; and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a peace upon any conditions.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the Dutch made shew of so much phlegm in this affair, when the very choler and pride of the French was, about the same time, so humbled by the spirit of the English, that, though they took their ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole fleet that was going to the relief of Dunkirk, (that was then closely besieged by the Spaniard; and, by the taking of that fleet, was delivered into their hands), yet the French would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the King; but sent an ambassador, which they had not before done, to ex-
The English seize on a French fleet going to the relief of Dunkirk.
 postulate very civilly with the Parliament for having been so unneighbourly; but in truth to desire their friendship upon what terms they pleased; the Cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the Spaniard would make such a conjunction with the new Commonwealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

The insupportable losses which the Dutch every day sustained by the taking their merchants' ships, and their ships of war, and the total obstruction of their trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the seas were covered with the English fleets; which made no distinctions of seasons, but were as active in the winter as the summer; and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. The Dutch having been beaten in the month of October, and Blake having received a brush from them in the month of December, in the month of February, the most dangerous season of the year, they, having appointed a rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty

In February Blake engages the Dutch fleet; who are beaten.

merchantmen, sent a fleet of above one hundred sail of men of war to convoy them; and Blake, with a fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp battle from noon till the night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the morning, they found that the English had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their merchantmen to the English, that they might make their flight the more securely.

The Dutch send again to the Parliament for peace.

This last loss made them send again to the Parliament to desire a peace; who rejected the overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality," (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable peace), the address being made only by the States of Holland and West-Friesland, the States General being at that time not assembled. It was generally believed, that this address from Holland was not only with the approbation, but by the direction, of Cromwell; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that war, to gratify Saint-John, (who was inseparable from him in all his other counsels, and was incensed by the Dutch), than approved the resolution. And now he found, by the expence of the engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable charge that war must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all parties, friends and foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the war; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expence might make it necessary to disband a great part of the land army (of which there appeared no use) to

Cromwell never zealous for this war with the Dutch, but governed in it by Saint-John.

sup-

support the navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he authority to place his own creatures there, all the officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the Parliament: so that when this address was made by the Dutch, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though Cromwell was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the authority of the Parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any King had ever been; and all the dominions belonging to the Crown owned no other subjection than to the Commonwealth of England. The isles of Guernsey, and Jersey, ^{Guernsey and Jersey} and Scilly, were reduced; the former presently after ^{had been} the battle of Worcester; and the other, after the King's ^{now reduced.} return to Paris; Sir George Carteret having well de- ^{Sir George Carteret de-} fended Jersey as long as he could, and being so over- ^{fended this} powered that he could no longer defend the island, he ^{as long as} retired into Castle Elizabeth; which he had fortified, ^{he could,} and provided with all things necessary for a siege; pre- ^{and Eliza-} suming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord Jer- ^{beth Castle.} myn, who was governor thereof, he should receive supplies of men and provisions, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the Parliament by sea or land. But it had been the principal reason that Cromwell had hitherto kept the better quarter with the Cardinal, lest the bait of those two islands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to
give

give his Majesty any assistance. But the King was so strict and punctual in his care of the interest of England, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to deposit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that castle had been besieged three months, and the enemy could not approach nearer to plant their ordnance than, at least, half an English mile, the sea encompassing it round more than so far from any land, and it not being possible for any of their ships to come within such a distance, they brought notwithstanding mortar pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the hill, near St. Hilary's, they shot granadoes of a vast bigness into the castle, and beat down many houses; and, at last, blowed up a great magazine, where most of the provision of victuals lay; and killed many men. Upon which Sir George Carteret sent an express to give the King an account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of men and provisions; which it being impossible for his Majesty to procure, he sent him orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and came himself to Paris, to give the King a larger information of all that had passed in that affair; and afterwards remained in France under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of Cromwell, till the King's happy restoration.

The King
sends him
orders to
make con-
ditions.

The foreign
plantations
also were
subdued.

All the foreign plantations had submitted to the yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having citizens and inferior persons put

put to govern them, instead of gentlemen, who had been entrusted by the King in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed; and settled a government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, The Barbadoes delivered up. was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years, in that plantation), they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for: nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord Willoughby of Parham, (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being governor there by the King's commission), and putting an inferior mean man in his place.

More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sir William Berkley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the

the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor, for no man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the King almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the Parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the Parliament, And Virginia. than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the King's restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience. About this time also, Scilly, which had been vigorously defended by Sir John Grenvil, till it wanted all things, was delivered up to Sir George Ayscue.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the affairs of Scotland, (which will be part of the argument of the next book), where Monk for the present governed with a rod of iron, and at last found no contradiction or opposition to his good will and pleasure. In Ireland, if that people had not been prepared and ripe for destruction,

tion, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the nation to have united themselves under their new Deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of obedience. Shortly after the departure of the Marquis of Ormond, Cromwell's Deputy, Ireton, who had married his daughter, died in Limerick of the plague; which was gotten into his army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great factions and divisions among the officers, after his sudden death, that great advantages might have been gotten by it. His authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil, as well as martial affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no man had authority to take the command upon him, till Cromwell's pleasure was farther known; who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man of a very different temper from the other; but appointed the civil government to run in another channel, so that there remained jealousy and discontent enough still between the council and the officers to have shaken a government that was yet no better established.

Ireton died
in Limerick
of the
plague.

Ludlow
succeeds
him in the
charge of
the army.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissimbling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed.

The character
of
Ireton.

avowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republican government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counsel and credit, have prevented those excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards civil affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon, (being a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all those authors who had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government), than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

The ill-condition of the Marquis of Clanrickard's affairs in Ireland.

What influence soever his life might have had upon the future transactions, certain it is, his death had none upon the state of Ireland to the King's advantage. The Marquis of Clanrickard left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength and power of the Irish nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the King's government. He sent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raise money: but few men could be got together, and when they were assembled, they could not stay together for want of money to pay them: so that he could never get a body together

to

to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had made those ample vows and protestations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of Ormond, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the Popish clergy, and all the Irish of Ulster, had no mind to have any relation to the English nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the Nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some foreign prince to take them into his protection. They first chose a committee, Plunket and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to send these gentlemen into Flanders “to invite the Duke of Lorrain to assist them with arms, money, and ammunition, undertaking to have good intelligence from thence, that the Duke (who was known to wish well to the King) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of his affection to the King, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that Catholic kingdom, his zeal to that religion being known to be very great.”

The rebels
resolve to
invite the
Duke of
Lorrain
thither.

The Marquis of Clanrickard had no opinion of the expedient, or that the Duke would engage himself on the behalf of a people who had so little reputation in the world, and therefore refused to give any commission to those gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the King's order, or at least the advice of the Marquis of Ormond, who was known to be safely arrived in France. But that was looked upon as delay,

delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence and information of the Duke of Lorrain's being willing to undertake their relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the libels, and scandals, and declarations, which had been published against the Marquis of Ormond, were now renewed, with equal malice and virulency, against the Marquis of Clanrickard; and they declared, "that God would never bless his withered hand, which had always concurred with Ormond in the prosecution and persecution of the Catholics confederates from the beginning of their engagement for the defence of their religion; and that he had still had more conversation with Heretics than with Catholics: that he had refused always to submit to the Pope's authority; and had treated his Nuncio with less respect than was due from any good Catholic; and that all the Catholics who were cherished or countenanced by him, were of the same faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the assembly of the confederate Catholics, (which was again brought together), and of the bishops and clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same persons they recommended to him; and gave them his credentials to the Duke of Lorrain; but required them "punctually to observe his own instructions, and not to presume to depart from them in the least degree." Their instructions were, "to give the Marquis of Ormond notice of their arrival; and to shew him their instructions; and to conclude nothing without his positive advice;" who, he well knew, would communicate all with the Queen; and that likewise, "when they came into Flanders, they should advise with such of the King's Council as should be there,

“there, and proceed in all things as they should direct.”

What instructions soever the Lord Deputy prescribed to them, the commissioners received others from the Council and Assembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of Ormond; but prosecuted their journey to Brussels, and made their address, with all secrecy, to the Duke of Lorrain. There were, at the same time, at Antwerp, the Marquis of Newcastle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (who was newly returned from his embassy in Spain), and Secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the King's Council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the Duke of York, during this time, passed through Brussels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their negotiations to his Highness.

Commissioners sent to him to Brussels.

The Duke of Lorrain had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was sure, there wanted no men to make armies enough, which he thought were not like to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commissioners very frankly offered “to deliver up Galloway, and all the places which were in their possession, into his hands, with the remainder of the kingdom, as soon as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely as their Prince.” But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discovered much of

The Duke
sends an
Abbot into
Ireland to
be informed
of the state
of it.

his affection to the King, and his resolution “not to accept any thing that was proposed, without his Majesty’s privity and full approbation.” But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the Abbot of St. Catharine’s, a Lorrainer, and a person principally trusted by him, as his ambassador into Ireland, to be informed of the true state of that kingdom, and what real strength the confederate Catholics were possessed of, and at what unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand pistoles, to supply their present necessities, and some arms and ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of Clanrickard, as the King’s governor, and the person by whose authority all those propositions had been made to him by the commissioners.

The Mar-
quis re-
nounces
any consent
to the treaty.

The Abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means so much as enter upon any treaty with him; but disavowed all that they had said or done with much vehemence, and with a protestation, “that he would cause their heads to be cut off, if they returned, or came into his hands.” And the Marquis did, at the same time, write very large letters both to the King, and the Marquis of Ormond, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, “that they might be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a just trial.”

As the Marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the Catholic nobility, and even some of their clergy, who never intended to withdraw their loyalty from the Crown of England, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the Irish nation, but those

of

of Ulster, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be delivered presently up into the possession of a foreign prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the King. It was now time for the Popish bishops, and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the commissioners with their authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the Lord Deputy, "to confirm what had been offered, as the only visible means to preserve the nation, and a root out of which the King's right might again spring and grow up:" and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give audience to the ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own house and castle at Portumny, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the commissioners had propounded, "as done by their order, who could make it good;" and desired the ambassador "to enter into a treaty with them;" and declared, "that they would sign such articles, with which the Duke of Lorrain should be well satisfied." They undervalued the power of the Marquis of Clanrickard, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their assistance.

The ambassador was a wise man, and of phlegm enough; and though he heard all they would say, and received any propositions they would give him in writing,

The Abbot
returns to
the Duke ;
whereupon
the Duke
gives over
the nego-
ciation.

ing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commission to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, "he would deliver all that they had, or " would propose to him, to the Duke his master; who, " he presumed, would speedily return his answer, and " proceed with their commissioners in such a manner as " would be grateful to them." So he returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the Duke such an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negotiation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that Prince was accustomed to use.

When the ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the Deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had several designs upon his person, and communicated whatever attempt was resolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility and gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his person from any violence they intended against him, but could not secure him against their acts of treachery, nor keep his counsels from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worcester was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged "the necessity of uniting themselves for the public safety, which was desperate any other way:" whilst
in

in truth every man was negotiating for his own indemnity with Ludlow, (who commanded the English), or for leave to transport regiments; which kept the soldiers together, as if they had been the Deputy's army.

The Deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the Marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciscan friar in Galloway; where the Deputy then was; but much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The Deputy caused the friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his complices. The friar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the Deputy's order. The conclusion was, the Popish bishops caused him to be taken out of the prison; and sent to the Deputy, "that if he would send to them his evidence against the friar, who was an ecclesiastical person, they would take care that justice should be done."

This proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he should not be able to do the King any service in that company; nor durst he stay longer in that town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed

The Lord
Clanrickard
discovers a
correspond-
ence man-
aged by a
friar be-
tween the
Popish Irish
clergy and
Ludlow.

He sends
the Earl of
C. Alcha-
ven to give
an account
of all to the
King.

The King
sends him
leave to re-
tire.

from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the King. For as soon as he had advertisement of the King's arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Irish, that they would be no more applied to the King's service under his command than under the Marquis of Ormond, he sent the Earl of Castlehaven (who had been formerly a general of the confederate Catholics, and remained with great constancy with the Marquis of Clanrickard, as long as there was any hope) to the King, with so particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had passed, from the time that he had received his commission from the Marquis of Ormond, that it even contained almost a diary, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the Irish, of their overtures to the Duke of Lorraine, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the Marquis, his nature, and his custom of living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired his Majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a pass to go into England; where he had some estate of his own, and many friends, who would not suffer him to starve; which his Majesty made haste to send to him, with as great a testimony of his gracious acceptance of his service and affection, as his singular merit deserved.

Thereupon the Marquis sent to Ludlow for a pass to go into England, and render himself to the Parliament; which

which he presently sent him ; and so the Marquis transported himself to London ; where he was civilly treated by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had contracted in Ireland, by those severe fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year ; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the King, and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that more exact work of his will, in due time, be communicated to the world.

The Marquis gets a palsey from Ludlow, and goes into England, and dies within a year.

The affairs of the three nations being in this posture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new accidents, and alterations of a very extraordinary nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of success, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from those emotions, we shall here conclude this book, and reserve the other for the next.

THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIV.

JOB XX. 19, 22.

*Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor; because
he hath violently taken away an house which he built not :
In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits; every band
of the wicked shall come upon him.*

JOB XXVII. 15.

*Those that remain of him shall be buried in death, and his wi-
dows shall not weep.*

HAD not God reserved the deliverance and restoration of the King to himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the war with Holland, and affronts every day offered to France, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the King of a speedy change of government there. From the time of the defeat at Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland

land and Ireland to perfect obedience, Cromwell did not find the Parliament so supple to observe his orders, as he expected they would have been. The Presbyterian party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his army of the Independent party, were bold in contradicting him in the House, and crossing all his designs in the city, and exceedingly inveighed against the licence that was practised in religion, by the several factions of Independents, Anabaptists, and the several species of these; who contemned all magistrates, and the laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, Cromwell cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the Presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to shew much respect to some principal preachers of that party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that so there might be no proposition made for the disbanding any part of his army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expence of it was so great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of land forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the Parliament so fierce for the carrying on that war, that they would not hearken to any reasonable conditions of peace; which the Dutch appeared most solicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of Independents, and other sectaries, had contracted against him: that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane thought his power and authority to be too great

great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough upon, or submission to, the Parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority must quickly be attended with. He observed, that those his old friends very frankly united themselves with his and their old enemies, the Presbyterians, for the prosecution of the war with Holland, and obstructing all the overtures towards peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the kingdom.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the style, first, of petitions, and then of remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the army; used great importunity for "the arrears of their pay; that they might not be compelled to take free quarter upon their fellow subjects, who already paid so great contributions and taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, would abundantly defray all the charges of the war, and of the government." The sharp answers the Parliament gave to their addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, "that they would be glad to be eased of the burden of their employment; and that there might be successive Parliaments to undergo the same trouble they had done." They therefore desired them, "that they would remember how many years they had sate; and though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the nation, to be utterly excluded from

Cromwell
erects an-
other Coun-
cil of Offi-
cers; who
expostulate
with the
Parliament
about their
arrears, and
their own
dissolution.

“ from bearing any part in the service of their country;
 “ by their engrossing the whole power into their hands;
 “ and thereupon besought them, that they would settle a
 “ Council for the administration of the government dur-
 “ ing the interval, and then dissolve themselves, and
 “ summon a new Parliament; which,” they told them,
 “ would be the most popular action they could per-
 “ form.”

The Parlia-
 ment de-
 bate about
 the period
 of their sit-
 ting.

These addresses in the name of the army, being con-
 fidently delivered by some officers of it, and as confi-
 dently seconded by others who were members of the
 House, it was thought necessary, that they should re-
 ceive a solemn debate, to the end that when the Parlia-
 ment had declared its resolution and determination, all
 persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so
 there would be an end put to all addresses of that
 kind.

There were many members of the House, who, either
 from the justice and reason of the request, or seasonably
 to comply with the sense of the army, to which they
 foresaw they should be at last compelled to submit;
 seemed to think it necessary, for abating the great envy,
 which was confessedly against the Parliament through-
 out the kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the
 end the people might make a new election of such
 persons as they thought fit to trust with their liberty
 and property, and whatsoever was dearest to them. But

Harry Mar-
 tyn's appli-
 cation of
 the story of
 Moses to
 this pur-
 pose.

Mr. Martyn told them, “ that he thought they might
 “ find the best advice from the Scripture, what they
 “ were to do in this particular: that when Moses was
 “ found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's
 “ daughter, she took care that the mother might be
 “ found out, to whose care he might be committed
 “ to be nursed; which succeeded very happily.” He

said,

said, "their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a weak growth, and a very tender constitution; and therefore his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse it, as the mother who brought it forth; and that they should not think of putting it under any other hands, until it had obtained more years and vigour." To which he added, "that they had another infant too under their hands, the war with Holland, which had thrived wonderfully under their conduct; but he much doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if it were taken out of their care who had hitherto governed it."

These reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the Parliament would not yet think of dissolving, nor would take it well, that any persons should take the presumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular persons to meddle with: and, to put a seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a committee "speedily to prepare an Act of Parliament for the filling up of their House; and by which it should be declared to be high treason, for any man to propose or contrive the changing of the present government settled and established."

The Parliament determined, that they would not yet think of dissolving.

This bill being prepared by the committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition. So Cromwell clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that authority and power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the army declared they were not satisfied with the determination, and continued their applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the House; and did all they could to infuse the same

same spirit into all the parts of the kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and Cromwell was well pleased that the Parliament should express as much prejudice against the army.

Cromwell
and his of-
ficers dis-
solve the
Parliament.

All things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good season to expose these enemies of peace to the indignation of the nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the war, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their contributions, and other impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the chief officers of the army, who were at his devotion, in the month of April, that was in the year 1653, he came into the House of Parliament in a morning when it was sitting, attended with the officers, who were likewise members of the House, and told them, "that he came thither to put
"an end to their power and authority; which they had
"managed so ill, that the nation could be no otherwise
"preserved than by their dissolution; which he ad-
"vised them, without farther debate, quietly to submit
"unto."

Thereupon another officer, with some files of musqueteers, entered into the House, and stayed there till all the members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the House, with their vices and corruptions, and amongst the rest, Sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer to be safely kept, he caused the doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or precedent in the Christian world that could
raise

raise his ambition to such a presumptuous undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendship of one man, who had any other interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the war.

When he had thus prosperously passed this Rubicon, he lost no time in publishing a declaration of the grounds and reasons of his proceeding, for the satisfaction of the people: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculously God had appeared for them in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to a perfect quiet; whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty; and those great and wonderful things God had wrought for them. But that they had made so little progress towards this good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land, who had thereupon applied themselves to the army, expecting redress by their means; who, being very unwilling to meddle with the civil authority, thought fit that some officers, who were members of the Parliament, should move and desire the Parliament to proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the Commonwealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of justice and righteousness: that they found this, and some other endeavours they had used, produced no good effect, but rather an averseness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and aversion to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them: insomuch as the godly party in the army was now become of no other use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, that

" de-

“ desired to perpetuate themselves in the supreme government of the nation : that, for the obviating those evils, the officers of the army had obtained several meetings with some members of the Parliament, to consider what remedies might properly be applied ; but that it appeared very evident unto them, that the Parliament, by want of attendance of many of their members, and want of integrity in others who did attend, would never answer those ends, which God, his people, and the whole nation, expected from them : but that this cause, which God had so greatly blessed, must needs languish under their hands, and by degrees be lost, and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people, be delivered into their enemies’ hands. All which being seriously and sadly considered by the honest people of the nation, as well as by the army, it seemed a duty incumbent upon them, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish righteousness and peace in these nations : that, after much debate, it had been judged necessary, that the supreme government should be, by the Parliament, devolved for a time upon known persons, fearing God, and of approved integrity, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God’s people, preserve the law, and administer justice impartially ; hoping thereby, that people might forget monarchy, and understand their true interest in the election of successive Parliaments, and so the government might be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessity to keep up armies for the defence thereof : that being resolved, if possible, to decline all extraordinary courses, they had prevailed with about twenty members of the Parliament to give
“ them

“ them a conference ; with whom they debated the
“ justice and necessity of that proposition ; but found
“ them of so contrary an opinion, that they insisted
“ upon the continuance of the present Parliament, as it
“ was then constituted, as the only way to bring those
“ good things to pass which they seemed to desire :
“ that they insisted upon this with so much vehemence,
“ and were so much transported with passion, that they
“ caused a bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this
“ Parliament, and investing the supreme power in them-
“ selves. And for the preventing the consummation of
“ this act, and all the sad and evil consequences,
“ which, upon the grounds thereof, must have ensued,
“ and whereby, at one blow, the interest of all honest
“ men, and of this glorious cause, had been in danger
“ to be laid in the dust, they had been necessitated
“ (though with much repugnance) to put an end to the
“ Parliament.”

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the nation at that time, than the remembering that the dissolution of that body of men, who had reigned so long over the three nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people, how unusual soever the circumstances thereof had been ; and that this declaration, which was not only subscribed by Cromwell and his Council of Officers, but was owned by the admirals at sea, and all the captains of ships, and by the commanders of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was looked upon as very reasonable ; and the declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the people were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the government of the Council of State, which should be nominated by the General, until such a time as a Parliament, consisting

of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the government of those nations, found an equal submission and obedience.

The method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of men so well chosen, that they should shortly after delegate the power in form of law to him for the preservation of the nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what Seneca said of Pompey, "that he had brought the people of Rome to that pass, by magnifying their power and authority; *ut salvus esse non possit nisi beneficio servitutis.*" And if Cromwell had not now made himself a tyrant, all bonds being broken, and the universal guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King's obedience, they must have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a prey to foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no man that durst mention the King, or the old form of government.

It was upon the twentieth of April that the Parliament had been dissolved; and though Cromwell found that the people were satisfied in it, and the declaration published thereupon, yet he knew it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the government, than the Council of Officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other notions of a republic than he was willing England should be brought to. A Parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other assembly of men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into was like to teach the
next

next to behave itself with more discretion. However the ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the election of them to the humour and inclination of the people.

He resolved therefore to choose them himself, that he might with the more justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the advice of his Council of Officers, for he made yet no other council of state, he made choice of a number of men, consisting of above one hundred persons, who should meet as a Parliament to settle the government of the nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a notion should fall into any man's imagination, that such a people should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet, upon the view and consideration of the persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; and though he communicated it with no man that was known, concluded it the most natural way to ripen and produce the effects it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to himself."

There were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament

Cromwell and his officers choose a Parliament.

Conditions and qualities of the persons nominated.

From one of the members, this was nicknamed Praife-God Barebone's Parliament.

itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praife-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leather-seller in Fleet Street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was afterwards called Praife-God Barebone's Parliament. In a word, they were generally a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet.

Cromwell calls them together by his own warrant to meet July 4.

It was fit these new men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for Cromwell by his warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them. "of the necessity of dissolving the late Parliament, and of an equal necessity, that the peace, safety, and good government of the Commonwealth should be provided for, and therefore that he had, by the advice of his Council of Officers, nominated divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs was to be committed, and that having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, and the interest of his cause, and the good people of this Commonwealth;" he concluded in these words, "I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander in Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth day of July next, then and there to take upon you the said trust. And you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member of the county of," &c. Upon this wild summons, the persons so nominated appeared at the Council-Chamber upon the fourth of July, which was near three months after the dissolution of the former Parliament.

Crom-

Cromwell, with his Council of Officers, was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of God, and the honour due to his name," full of texts of Scripture; and remembered "the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and the continued series of providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his cause, and bringing affairs into that present glorious condition, wherein they now were." He put them in mind of "the noble actions of the army in the famous victory of Worcester, of the applications they had made to the Parliament, for a good settlement of all the affairs of the Commonwealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it." He assured them by many arguments, some of which were urged out of Scripture, "that they had a very lawful call to take upon them the supreme authority of the nation;" and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great tenderness might be used towards all conscientious persons, of what judgment soever they appeared to be."

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an instrument, engrossed in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve and entrust the supreme authority of this Commonwealth into the hands of those persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, to which all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, were to yield obedience and subjection to the third day of the month of November, which should be in the year 1654," which was about a year and three months from the time that he spoke to them; and three months before the time prescribed

should expire, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose power and authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the government. Being thus invested with this authority, they repaired to the Parliament House, and made choice of one Rouse to be their Speaker, an old gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a member of the former Parliament, and in that time been preferred and made Provost of the College of Eton, which office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

They repair
to the Par-
liament
House, and
choose
Rouse their
Speaker.

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the style and title of a Parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that title, and to consider themselves as the supreme authority in the nation. These men thus brought together continued in this capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered upon any grave and serious debate; that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow.

They as-
sume the
name of a
Parliament.

Their ac-
tings and
consulta-
tions.

There were now no bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being called so, received tithes, and respect from their neighbours. They looked upon the function itself to be Anti-Christian,

Christian, and the persons to be burdensome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tithes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they proposed, "that all lands belonging to the Universities, and Colleges in those Universities, might be sold, and the monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of December, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the motion, one of them stood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal to the burden that was laid upon them, and therefore that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their authority into their hands from whom they had received it;" which being presently consented to, their Speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to Whitehall, and re-delivered to Cromwell the instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and besought him to take care of the Commonwealth.

On the 12th of December they delivered up their power to Cromwell.

By this frank donation he and his Council of Officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the nation. And in few days after, his Council were too modest to share with him in this royal authority, but declared, "that the government of the Commonwealth should reside in a single person; that that person should be Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that his title should be Lord Protector of

Cromwell and his Council of Officers make him Lord Protector.

“ the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
 “ and of the dominions and territories thereunto belong-
 “ ing; and that he should have a council of one
 “ and twenty persons to be assistant to him in the go-
 “ vernment.”

December
 16, he is
 installed in
 Westmin-
 ster Hall
 according
 to an instru-
 ment of go-
 vernment.

The sub-
 stance of it.

Most men did now conclude, that the folly and set-
 tishness of this last assembly was so much foreseen, that,
 from their very first coming together, it was determined
 what should follow their dissolution. For the method
 that succeeded could hardly have been composed in so
 short a time after, by persons who had not consulted
 upon the contingency some time before. It was upon
 the twelfth of December, that the small Parliament was
 dissolved, when many of the members, who came to the
 House as to their usual consultations, found that they
 who came before, were gone to Whitehall to be dis-
 solved; which the other never thought of: and upon
 the sixteenth day, the Commissioners of the Great Seal,
 with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were sent for to
 attend Cromwell and his Council to Westminster-Hall;
 it being then vacation-time; and being come thither,
 the Commissioners sitting upon their usual seat, and not
 knowing why they were sent for, the declaration of the
 Council of Officers was read, whereby Cromwell was
 made Protector; who stood in the Court uncovered,
 whilst what was contained in a piece of parchment was
 read, which was called the *Instrument of Government*;
 whereby it was ordained, “ that the Protector should
 “ call a Parliament once in every three years; that the
 “ first Parliament should be convened upon the third
 “ day of September following, which would be in the
 “ year 1654; and that he should not dissolve any Par-
 “ liament once met, till they had sate five months; that
 “ such bills as should be presented to him by the Par-
 “ liament,

"liament, if they should not be confirmed by him
 "within twenty days, should pass without him, and be
 "looked upon as laws: that he should have a select
 "Council to assist him, which should not exceed the
 "number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen:
 "that immediately after his death the Council should
 "choose another Protector before they rose: that no
 "Protector after him should be General of the army:
 "that the Protector should have power to make peace
 "and war: that, with the consent of his Council, he
 "should make laws, which should be binding to the
 "subjects during the intervals of Parliament."

Whilst this was reading, Cromwell had his hand upon
 the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, "that Cromwell
takes an
oath to ob-
serve it.
 "he would not violate any thing that was contained in
 "that instrument of government; but would observe,
 "and cause the same to be observed; and in all things,
 "according to the best of his understanding, govern
 "the nation according to the laws, statutes, and cus-
 "toms, seeking peace, and causing justice and law to be
 "equally administered."

This new invented ceremony being in this manner
 performed, he himself was covered, and all the rest bare;
 and Lambert, who was then the second person in the
 army, carried the sword before his Highness (which was
 the style he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all
 they whom he called into it sitting bare; and so he
 returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation He is pro-
claimed
Protector.
 was made by a herald, in the Palace-yard at Westmin-
 ster, "that the late Parliament having dissolved them-
 "selves, and resigned their whole power and authority,
 "the government of the Commonwealth of England,
 "Scotland, and Ireland, by a Lord Protector, and suc-
 "cessive triennial Parliaments, was now established: and
 "whereas

“ whereas Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the
 “ forces of the Commonwealth, is declared Lord Pro-
 “ tector of the said nations, and had accepted thereof;
 “ publication was now made of the same; and all per-
 “ sons, of what quality or condition soever, in any of
 “ the said three nations, were strictly charged and com-
 “ manded to take notice thereof, and to conform and
 “ submit themselves to the government so established;
 “ and all sheriffs, mayors, &c. were required to publish
 “ this proclamation, to the end that none might have
 “ cause to pretend ignorance therein.” Which procla-
 mation was at the same time published in Cheap-side by
 the Lord Mayor of London; and, with all possible ex-
 pedition, by the sheriffs, and other officers, throughout
 England, Scotland, and Ireland. And in some time
 after, the city of London invited their new Protector to
 a very splendid entertainment at Grocers’ Hall, upon an
 Ash-Wednesday; the streets being railed, and the so-
 lemnity of his reception such as had been at any time
 performed to the King: and he, as like a King, graci-
 ously conferred the honour of knighthood upon the
 Lord Mayor at his departure.

The city in-
 vites him to
 Grocers’
 Hall.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraor-
 dinary man, without any other reason than because he
 had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against
 the desire of all noble persons or men of quality, or of
 any number of men, who, in the beginning of the trou-
 bles, were possessed of three hundred pounds lands by
 the year, mounted himself into the throne of three king-
 doms, without the name of King, but with a greater
 power and authority than had ever been exercised or
 claimed by any King; and received greater evidence
 and manifestation of respect and esteem from all the
 Kings and Princes in Christendom, than have ever
 been

been shewed to any Monarch of those nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

Though, during this last year's unsettlement in England, Cromwell had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good winter guard of ships in the Downs, yet the Dutch had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of trade during that confusion, and suspension of power; and had sent out their fleets of merchantmen under a convoy, by the north of Scotland; and, by the return of that convoy, received their fleet from the Baltic with security: so that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in England would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their spirits again. But Cromwell had no sooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he caused a strong fleet to be made ready against the spring; and committed the command thereof to three admirals jointly; Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown, from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

A fleet this
year, 1653,
set forth
under three
admirals.

This fleet, in the beginning of June in the year 1653, met with the Dutch about the middle seas over between Dover and Zealand; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the wind not being favourable, it was noon before the fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that Dean, one of the English Admirals, was killed by a cannon shot from the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch. The next morning, the Dutch having the advantage of the small wind that was,
the

The Dutch
beaten at
sea in June.

the English charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the sail they could for their own coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The execution on the Dutch was very great, as was likewise the number of the prisoners, as well officers as soldiers. The loss of the English was greatest in their General Dean: there was, besides him, but one captain, and about two hundred common seamen, killed: the number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole fleet to the coast of Holland, whither the other fled; and being got into the Flie, and the Texel, the English for some time blocked them up in their own harbours, taking all such ships as came bound for those parts.

The Dutch
send four
commis-
sioners to
treat of
peace.

This great defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four commissioners into England to mediate for a treaty, and a cessation of arms; who were received very loftily by Cromwell, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a contention: yet he declared a gracious inclination to a treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no cessation; which being known in Holland, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another fleet, strong enough to remove the English from their coasts; which they believed was the best expedient to advance their treaty: and there cannot be a greater instance of the opulency of that people, than that they should be able, after so many losses,

losses, and so late a great defeat, in so short a time to set out a fleet strong enough to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them within their ports.

Their Admiral Trump had, with some of the fleet, retired into the Wierings, at too great a distance from the other ports for the English fleet to divide itself. He had, with a marvellous industry, caused his hurt ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all officers and seamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their service, that by the end of July, within less than two months after their defeat, he came out of the Wierings with a fleet of ninety and five men of war; which as soon as the English had notice of, they made towards him. But the wind rising, they were forced to stand more to sea, for fear of the sands and shelves upon that coast. Whereupon Van Trump, all that night, stood into the Texel; where he joined five and twenty more of their best ships; and with this addition, which made an hundred and twenty sail, he faced the English; who, being at this time under the command of Monk alone, kept still to the sea; and having got a little more room, and the weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the Dutch with great courage and gallantry.

The battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon; when the Admiral of Holland, the famous Van Trump, whilst he very signally performed the office of a brave and bold commander, was shot with a musquet bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking

Trump comes to sea with another fleet before the end of July.

Another sea fight: Trump slain: the English get the victory.

speaking word. This blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot service, before the evening, fled, and made all the sail they could towards the Texel: the English were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn ships, and refresh their wounded men.

This battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their enemy's fleet than the taking their ships. On the Hollanders' part, between twenty and thirty of their ships of war were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The victory cost the English dear too; for four hundred common men and eight captains were slain outright, and above seven hundred common men and five captains wounded. But they lost only one ship, which was burned; and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther service. The most sensible part of the loss to the Dutch was the death of their admiral Van Trump, who, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent commanders at sea of that age, and to whose memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last engagement at sea between the two Commonwealths: for as the Dutch were, by this last defeat, and loss of their brave admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their commissioners at London order to prosecute the peace upon any conditions, so Cromwell, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of so chargeable a war, and knew he had much to do to settle

Cromwell
makes
peace with
the Dutch
Apr. 1654.

settle the government at home, and that he might choose more convenient enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the Hollanders had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the Dutch to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they should not suffer any of the King's party, or any enemy to the Commonwealth of England, to reside within their dominions:" and another, which was contained in a secret article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves "never to admit the Prince of Orange to be their State-holder, General, or Admiral; and likewise to deliver up the island of Pulerone in the East Indies" (which they had taken from the English in the time of King James, and usurped it ever since) "into the hands of the East India English Company again;" and to pay a good sum of money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at Amboyna; for which the two last Kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of April 1654, he made a peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, he forced Portugal to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince Rupert, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought the two Crowns of France and Spain to sue for his alliance. He suspended for a time to choose a new enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad: and, in order to that, he

He makes
Portugal
send an am-
bassador for
peace.

He persecutes the King's party.

he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's party with the utmost rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and, upon every light rumour of a conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect into close prisons; enjoined others not to stir from their own houses, and banished all who had ever been in arms for the King, from the cities of London and Westminster; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the articles granted to them when they gave up their arms, and to the indemnity upon making their compositions.

The general discontents in the nation.

The discontents were general over the whole kingdom, and among all sorts of people, of what party soever. The Presbyterians preached boldly against the liberty of conscience, and the monstrous licence that sprung from thence; and they who enjoyed that licence were as unsatisfied with the government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the person of Cromwell more than any. But into these distempers Cromwell was not inquisitive; nor would give those men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly spirits at the charge of the King's party, and with the spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general licence of discourse, any man, who was suspected to wish well to the King, let fall any light word against the government, he was sure to be cast in prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable men, who had, in themselves or their friends, been undone by their loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought

brought on invectives against the person of Cromwell; wine, and good fellowship, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted person of the party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompense, betrayed his companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new plot was discovered against the Commonwealth and the person of the Protector, and a High Court of Justice was presently erected to try the criminals; which rarely absolved any man who was brought before them. But to this kind of trial they never exposed any man but those of the King's party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many friends to suffer them to be brought before such a tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the King himself, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No man who had ever been against the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant power; but such were remitted to the trial of the law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

The very next month after the peace was made, for the better establishment of Cromwell's empire, a High Court of Justice was erected for the trial of persons accused of "holding correspondence with Charles Stuart," (which was the style they allowed the King,) "and for having a design against the life of the Protector, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King."

The chief persons they accused of this were, Mr. Gerard, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been an ensign in the King's army, but was not at present above

A High Court of Justice erected a month after the peace with Holland.

Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel tried before them.

twenty-two years of age : the other, one Mr. Vowel ; who kept a school, and taught many boys about Islington. Mr. Gerard was charged with “ having been at “ Paris, and having there spoken with the King ;” which he confessed ; and declared, “ that he went to Paris upon “ a business that concerned himself,” (which he named,) “ and when he had dispatched it, and was to return for “ England, he desired the Lord Gerard, his kinsman, to “ present him to the King, that he might kiss his hand ; “ which he did in a large room, where were many present ; and that, when he asked his Majesty, whether “ he would command him any service into England ? “ his Majesty bid him to commend him to his friends “ there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, “ and not engage themselves in any plots ; which must “ prove ruinous to them, and could do the King no “ good :” which was very true : for his Majesty had observed so much of the temper of the people at his being at Worcester ; and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this High Court of Justice received proof, that Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel had been present with some other gentlemen in a tavern, where discourse had been held, “ how easy a thing it was to kill the Protector ; “ and at the same time to seize upon the Tower of “ London, and that, if at the same time the King “ were proclaimed, the city of London would presently declare for his Majesty, and nobody would oppose him.”

They are
condemned.

Upon this evidence, these two gentlemen were condemned to be hanged ; and upon the tenth of July, about two months after they had been in prison, a gallows

gallows was erected at Charing-Cross; whither Mr. Vowel was brought; who was a person utterly unknown to the King, and to any person entrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preserved in the list of those who shewed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he said, "he suffered without having committed any fault." He professed his duty to the King, and his reverence for the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the people to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them, "they would at last be compelled to do after all their sufferings." He addressed himself most to the soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they professed themselves to serve the ambition of an unworthy tyrant;" and conjured them "to forsake him, and to serve the King; which, he was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the kingdom, and himself, to God in very pious prayers, he ended his life with as much Christian resolution, as can be expected from the most composed conscience.

Mr. Vowel executed at Charing-Cross: his magnanimous behaviour.

The Protector was prevailed with to shew more respect to Mr. Gerard in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the afternoon of the same day to a scaffold upon the Tower-hill. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of him who suffered in the morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the people, but pressed him to discover all the secrets of the plot and conspiracy. He told them, "that if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the King any service; and was now willing to die upon that suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charged against him; that he had not en-

Mr. Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill in the afternoon of the same day.

“tered into or consented to any plot or conspiracy, nor
 “given any countenance to any discourse to that pur-
 “pose;” and offered again to speak to the people, and to
 magnify the King: upon which they would not suffer him
 to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted
 courage, he laid down his head upon the block.

The same
 day and
 place the
 Portugal
 ambassa-
 dor's bro-
 ther be-
 headed.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary
 piece of justice, and of a very different nature from the
 other two. The ambassador of Portugal had a very
 splendid equipage, and in his company his brother Don
 Pantaleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, and a man eminent
 in many great actions; who out of curiosity accompa-
 nied his brother in this embassy, that he might see
 England. This gentleman was of a haughty and im-
 perious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange,
 upon a sudden accident and mistake, had a quarrel with
 that Mr. Gerard, whom we now left without his head;
 who had then returned some negligence and contempt
 to the rhodomontadoes of the Portuguese, and had left
 him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon
 the Don repaired thither again the next day, with many
 servants, better armed, and provided for any encounter,
 imagining he should there find his former adversary,
 who did not expect that visit. But the Portuguese
 not distinguishing persons, and finding many gentle-
 men walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he be-
 lieved very like the other, he thought he was not to lose
 the occasion, and entered into a new quarrel; in which
 a gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had for-
 merly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed,
 and others hurt; upon which, the people rising from
 all the neighbour places, Don Pantaleon thought fit to
 make his retreat to his brother's house; which he did,
 and caused the gates to be locked, and put all the ser-
 vants

vants in arms to defend the house against the people ; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a gentleman.

The ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude multitude ; and took care to defend his house till the justice should allay the tumult. Cromwell was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an officer with soldiers to demand and seize upon all the persons who had been engaged in the action : and so the ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The officer demanded the person of his brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the house, and find them wherever they were concealed. The ambassador demanded the privilege that was due to his house by the law of nations, and which he would defend against any violence with his own life, and the lives of all his family ; but finding the officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the Protector ; which was granted to him. He complained of the injury that was done him, and desired an audience. Cromwell sent him word, “ that a gentleman had been
“ murdered, and many others hurt ; and that justice
“ must be satisfied ; and therefore required that all the
“ persons engaged might be delivered into the hands of
“ his officer ; without which, if he should withdraw the
“ soldiers, and desist the requiring it, the people would
“ pull down the house, and execute justice themselves ;
“ of which he would not answer for the effect. When
“ this was done, he should have an audience, and all

“the satisfaction it was in his power to give.” The ambassador desired, “that his brother, and the rest, might remain in his house, and he would be responsible, and produce them before the justice as the time should be assigned.” But nothing would serve but the delivery of the persons, and the people increased their cry, “that they would pull down the house.” Whereupon the ambassador was compelled to deliver up his brother, and the rest of the persons; who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador used all the instances he could for his brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the law; but could receive no other answer but “that justice must be done;” and justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their trial at the sessions at Newgate, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned were executed at Tyburn; and Don Pantaleon himself was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, as soon as Mr. Gerard was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his antagonist had done.

The condition of the Protector in respect of his neighbours.

Though the Protector had nothing now to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble submission, Denmark being contented with such an alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and France and Spain contending, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the strict government of Monk, who after the peace with the Dutch was sent back to govern that province, which was reduced under the government of the English laws, and their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience

The state of Scotland under him.

dience of the State with reference to assemblies, or synods; Ireland being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the Protector's commands; so that commissions were sent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English who had adhered to the King, amongst those adventurers who had supplied money for the war, and the soldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal assignments in lands; one whole province being reserved for the Irish to be confined to; and all these divisions made under the government of his younger son, Harry Cromwell, whom he sent thither as his Lieutenant of that kingdom; who lived in the full grandeur of the office: notwithstanding all this, England proved not yet so towardsly as he expected. Vane, and the most considerable men of the Independent party, from the time he had turned them out of the Parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their houses in the country; poisoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and lost nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

Of Ireland.

Disputes
among his
own party;

There were another less wary, because a more desperate party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the most active Agitators in the army, who had executed his orders and designs in incensing the army against the Parliament, and had been at that time his sole confidants and bedfellows; who, from the time that he assumed the title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, professed a mortal hatred to his person; and he well knew both these people had too much credit in his army, and with some principal

Especially
the Levellers.

officers

officers of it. Of these men he stood in more fear than of all the King's party ; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he coloured many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.

He calls a
Parliament
after a new
method.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Instrument of Government, and upon his oath, to call a Parliament ; which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the people to an entire submission to his government. In order to this meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which use to send burgesses, (by which method some single counties send more members to the Parliament, than six other counties do), he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses ; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened ; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his writs, elections were made accordingly in all places ; and such persons, for the most part, chosen and returned, as were believed to be the best affected to the present government, and to those who had any authority in it ; there being strict order given, " that no person " who had ever been against the Parliament during the " time of the civil war, or the sons of any such persons, " should be capable of being chosen to sit in that Par- " liament ;" nor were any such persons made choice of.

His Parlia-
ment meets
Sept. 3,
1654.

The day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had
been

been declared Protector; when, after they had been at
 a sermon in the Abbey at Westminster, they all came
 into the Painted Chamber; where his Highness made
 them a large discourse; and told them, "that that Par-
 liament was such a congregation of wise, prudent,
 and discreet persons, that England had scarce seen the
 like: that he should forbear relating to them the
 series of God's providence all along to that time, be-
 cause it was well known to them; and only declare
 to them, that the erection of his present power was a
 suitable providence to the rest, by shewing what a
 condition these nations were in at its erection: that
 then every man's heart was against another's, every
 man's interest divided against another's, and almost
 every thing grown arbitrary: that there was grown
 up a general contempt of God and Christ, the grace
 of God turned into wantonness, and his spirit made
 a cloak for all wickedness and profaneness; nay, that
 the axe was even laid to the root of the ministry, and
 swarms of Jesuits were continually wafted over hither
 to consume and destroy the welfare of England: that
 the nation was then likewise engaged in a deep war
 with Portugal, Holland, and France; so that the
 whole nation was one heap of confusion: but that
 this present government was calculated for the people's
 interest, let malignant spirits say what they would; and
 that, with humbleness towards God, and modesty to-
 wards them, he would recount somewhat in the behalf
 of the government. First, it had endeavoured to re-
 form the law; it had put into the seat of justice men
 of known integrity and ability; it had settled a way
 for probation of ministers to preach the Gospel: and
 besides all this, it had called a free Parliament: that,
 blessed be God, they that day saw a free Parliament:
 then

The sub-
 stance of his
 speech to
 them.

“ then as to wars, that a peace was made with Den-
 “ mark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal, and was
 “ likewise near concluding with France: that these
 “ things were but entrances, and doors of hopes; but
 “ now he made no question to enable them to lay the
 “ top stone of the work, recommending to them that
 “ maxim, that peace, though it were made, was not to
 “ be trusted farther than it consisted with interest:
 “ that the great work which now lay upon this Parlia-
 “ ment, was, that the government of England might be
 “ settled upon terms of honour: that they would avoid
 “ confusions, lest foreign states should take advantage
 “ of them: that, as for himself, he did not speak like
 “ one that would be a lord over them, but as one that
 “ would be a fellow-servant in that great affair:” and
 concluded, “ that they should go to their House, and
 “ there make choice of a Speaker:” which they presently
 did, and seemed very unanimous in their first act, which
 was the making choice of William Lenthall to be their
 Speaker; which agreement was upon very disagreeing
 principles. Cromwell having designed him, for luck’s
 sake, and being well acquainted with his temper, con-
 cluded, that he would be made a property in this, as
 well as he had been in the long Parliament, when he
 always complied with that party that was most power-
 ful. And the other persons who meant nothing that
 Cromwell did, were well pleased, out of hope that the
 same man’s being in the chair might facilitate the re-
 newing and reviving the former House; which they
 looked upon as the true legitimate Parliament, strangled
 by the tyranny of Cromwell, and yet that it had life
 enough left in it.

William
 Lenthall
 chosen their
 Speaker.

Their act-
 ings.

Lenthall was no sooner in his chair than it was pro-
 posed, “ that they might in the first place consider by
 “ what

“ what authority they came thither, and whether that
 “ which had convened them had a lawful power to that
 “ purpose.” From which subject the Protector’s crea-
 tures, and those of the army, endeavoured to divert
 them by all the arguments they could. Notwithstand-
 ing which, the current of the House insisted upon the
 first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which
 all their counsels must be built: and as many of the
 members positively enough declared against that power,
 so one of them, more confident than the rest, said
 plainly, “ that they might easily discern the snares which
 “ were laid to entrap the privileges of the people; and
 “ for his own part, as God had made him instrumental
 “ in cutting down tyranny in one person, so now he
 “ could not endure to see the nation’s liberties shackled
 “ by another, whose right to the government could not
 “ be measured otherwise than by the length of his sword,
 “ which alone had emboldened him to command his
 “ commanders.” This spirit prevailed so far, that, for
 eight days together, those of the Council of Officers,
 and others, (who were called the Court party), could not
 divert the question from being put, “ whether the go-
 “ vernment should be by a Protector and a Parliament,”
 any other way than by lengthening the debate, and then
 adjourning the House when the question was ready to
 be put, because they plainly saw that it would be carried
 in the negative.

The continuance of this warm debate in the House, in
 which the Protector’s own person was not treated with
 much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged
 him once more to try, what respect his sovereign pre-
 sence would produce towards a better composition. So
 he came again to the Painted Chamber, and sent for his
 Parliament to come to him; and then told them, “ that
 “ the

Cromwell
 speaks to
 them in the
 Painted
 Chamber.

“ the great God of heaven and earth knew what grief
 “ and sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling
 “ into heats and divisions; that he would have them
 “ take notice of this, that the same government made
 “ him a Protector, that made them a Parliament: that
 “ as they were entrusted in some things, so was he in
 “ others: that in the government were certain funda-
 “ mentals, which could not be altered, to wit, that the
 “ government should be in a single person and a Parlia-
 “ ment; that Parliaments should not be perpetual, and
 “ always sitting; that the militia should not be trusted
 “ into one hand, or power, but so as the Parliament
 “ might have a check on the Protector, and the Pro-
 “ tector on the Parliament; that in matters of religion
 “ there ought to be a liberty of conscience, and that
 “ persecution in the Church was not to be tolerated.
 “ These, he said, were unalterable fundamentals. As for
 “ other things in the government, they were examina-
 “ ble and alterable as the state of affairs did require:
 “ that, for his own part, he was even overwhelmed with
 “ grief, to see that any of them should go about to over-
 “ throw what was settled, contrary to the trust they
 “ had received from the people; which could not but
 “ bring very great inconveniences upon themselves and
 “ the nation.” When he had made this frank declara-
 “ tion unto them what they were to trust to, the better to
 “ confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a guard to
 “ attend at the door of the Parliament House, and there
 “ to restrain all men from entering into the House who re-
 “ fused to subscribe this following engagement: “ I do
 “ hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to
 “ the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of Eng-
 “ land, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according
 “ to the tenor of this indenture, whereby I am returned
 “ to

He admits
 none into
 the House
 but such as
 subscribed
 an engage-
 ment to
 him.

“ to serve in Parliament) propose or give any consent to
 “ alter the government as it is settled in one person and
 “ a Parliament.”

This engagement a considerable part of the members utterly refused to sign; and called it a violation of the privilege of Parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and refrained from entering into the House; and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any proposition that might settle him in the government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses, (during which he was not to attempt the dissolution of them, by his Instrument of Government), he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of January, He dissolves them Jan. 21. with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with much evidence of his displeasure: and they again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his usurpation, by undertaking any employment or office under his authority, he as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious advantage appeared in two very notable instances, which happened about that time, in the case of two persons, whose names were then much taken notice of upon the stage of affairs, John Wild-An account of John Wildman and John Lilburn, Levellers. man and John Lilburn.

The former had been bred a scholar in the University John Wildman. of Cambridge, and being young, and of a pregnant wit, in the beginning of the rebellion meant to make his fortune

tune in the war ; and chose to depend upon Cromwell's countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a captain of a troop of horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an officer ; and was so active in contriving and fomenting jealousies and discontents, and so dexterous in composing or improving any disquits, and so inspired with the spirit of praying and preaching, when those gifts came into request, and became thriving arts, that about the time when the King was taken from Holmby, and it was necessary that the army should enter into contests with the Parliament, John Wildman grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was most relied upon by Cromwell to infuse those things into the minds of the soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their discontents, as might most advance those designs he then had ; and quickly got the reputation of a man of parts ; and, having a smooth pen, drew many of the papers which first kindled the fire between the Parliament and the army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of both. His reputation in those faculties made him quit the army ; where he was become a major ; and where he kept still a great interest, and betook himself to civil affairs, in the solicitation of suits depending in the Parliament, or before committees ; where he had much credit with those who had most power to do right or wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such protection from the tyranny of the time. By these arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the army, and kept and increased his credit there, by the interest he had in other places. When Cromwell declined the ways of establishing the Commonwealth, Wildman, amongst the rest, forsook him ; and entered, warily, into any counsels which

which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last Parliament, having less of phlegm, and so less patience than other men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a schism in the army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged persons to take vengeance upon him.

Cromwell knew the man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant a public prosecution; but appointed some trusty spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the preamble to any conspiracy of his. Shortly after the dissolution of that Parliament, these instruments of Cromwell's surprised him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a declaration; and seized upon the papers; the title whereof was, "a declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige us to take up arms against Oliver Cromwell;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have exposed any man to the severest judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against him, or any man whom he most desired to destroy. The issue was, the man was straitly imprisoned, and preparations made for his trial, and towards his execution, which all men expected. But, whether Cromwell found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to justice, or were fit to be discovered, (as many men believed), or that

that Wildman obliged himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a spy for him upon others, (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards), after a short time of imprisonment, the man was restored to his liberty; and resorted, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of life; in which he thrived very notably.

John Lilburn.

The case of John Lilburn was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This man, before the troubles, was a poor book-binder; and, for procuring some seditious pamphlets against the Church and State to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the Star Chamber, and received a sharp castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed truth; and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those libels and books, which had anciently, as well as lately, been written against the Church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their style; and, by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the government most to the sense of the people, and to their humour. When the war begun, he put himself into the army; and was taken prisoner by the King's forces in that engagement at Brentford, shortly after the battle of Edgehill; and being

ing then a man much known, and talked of for his qualities above mentioned, he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him ; and being brought before the Chief Justice, to be tried for treason by a commission of Oyer and Terminer, (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded against the rebels which should be taken), he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his friends at London, (and the Parliament in express terms declared, " that they would " inflict punishment upon the prisoners they had of the " King's party, in the same manner as Lilburn and the " rest should suffer at Oxford,") so he did find means to corrupt the marshal who had the custody of him ; and made his escape into the Parliament quarters ; where he was received with public joy, as a champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

From this time he was entertained by Cromwell with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the Parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a spirit, and to make those advances in religion against the Presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the army, where he was an officer of name, and made him reside in London, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the Parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the pamphlets he published every day in religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to prosecute him with great rigour, (towards which the Assembly of Divines, which he had likewise provoked, contributed their desire and demand),

Cromwell writ a very passionate letter to the Parliament, "that they would not so much discourage their army, "that was fighting for them, as to censure an officer of "it for his opinion in point of conscience; for the liberty "whereof, and to free themselves from the shackles in "which the Bishops would enslave them, that army had "been principally raised." Upon which, all farther prosecution against Lilburn was declined at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that Cromwell had dispersed that Parliament, and was, in effect, in possession of the sovereign power, Lilburn withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in pamphlets and invectives, loaded him with all the aspersions of hypocrisy, lying, and tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjured person could be.

Cromwell could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance and concernment, than any person in authority had ever done: yet the prosecution this man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his dignity, or to have any security in the government, whilst his licence continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his actions, and collect his words, and upon advice with the council at law of the state, was confidently informed, "that, as well by the old established "laws, as by new ordinances, Lilburn was guilty of high "treason, and had forfeited his life, if he were prosecuted in any court of justice," he caused him to be
sent

sent to Newgate, and at the next sessions to be indicted of high treason ; all the judges being present, and the council at law to enforce the evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a jury as might be fit for the importance of the case. Lilburn appeared undaunted, and with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty ; he pleaded not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the judges, he shewed that he had no reverence for their persons, nor any submission to their authority. The whole day was spent in his trial ; and when he came to make his defence, he mingled so much law in his discourse to invalidate their authority, and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor estates, were in any degree secure, whilst that usurpation was exercised ; and answered all the matters objected against him with such an assurance, making them “ to contain nothing of high treason, and that to be a government against which high treason could not be committed ;” and telling them “ that all true born Englishmen were obliged to oppose this tyranny, as he had done purely for their sakes, and that he had done it only for their sakes, and to preserve them from being slaves, contrary to his own profit and worldly interest :” he told them “ how much he had been in Cromwell’s friendship : that he might have received any benefit or preferment from him, if he would have sate still, and seen his country enslaved ; which because he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life taken from him by their judgment ; which he apprehended not :” he defended himself with that vigour, and charmed the

jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the judges could give them, (who assured them, "that the words and actions fully proved against the prisoner, were high treason by the law; and that they were bound, by all the obligation of conscience, to find him guilty,") after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their verdict, "that he was not guilty:" nor could they be persuaded by the judges to change or recede from their verdict: which infinitely enraged and perplexed Cromwell; who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loss of a battle would have been. And though Lilburn was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet Cromwell would never suffer him to be set at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but sent him from prison to prison, and kept him inclosed there till he himself died. These two instances of persons not otherwise considerable are thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation; and how far the spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when nobody had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

The King's
condition
abroad.

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity Cromwell found in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the friendship or the indignation of other princes; they had all the same terrible apprehension of Cromwell's power as if he had been landed with an army in any of their dominions, and looked upon the King's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The treaty between France and England proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh evidence of the good intelligence between Cromwell and the Cardinal. The ships and prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve Dunkirk, and by the taking

Cromwell's
treaty with
France.

taking whereof Dunkirk had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty ; and such mutual offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of aversion from the King and his interest, made it very manifest to his Majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in France, after the alliance should be published with Cromwell ; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's blushing to consent to some propositions, without which the other's fast friendship was not to be obtained ; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

There could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated ; where he lived so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no money to enable him to remove, or to pay the debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a civil reception. Holland was bound not to admit him into their dominions, and by their example had shewed other princes and states, what conditions they must submit to who would be allies to Cromwell. The King of Spain was at the same time contending with France for Cromwell's friendship, and thought he had some advantage with him by the residence his Majesty had in France : so there could be no thought of repairing into Flanders, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The Protestants, in most places, expressed much more inclination to his rebels than to him. The Roman Catholics looked upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their arms by changing his religion, without which they generally declared, " they would never give him the least

“ assistance.” In this distress, his Majesty resumed the considerations he had formerly entered upon, of sending to the Diet; which was summoned by the Emperor to meet shortly at Ratisbon, to make choice of a King of the Romans. And Germany being then in peace, the Emperor made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of Hungary his eldest son to be made King of the Romans, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the empire. Our King had long designed to send the Lord Wilmot on that errand, to try what the Emperor, and Princes of Germany, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to restore a Prince so injured and oppressed by so odious a rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of Germany, for the King to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the King's condition, that this affair should be dispatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expence, it being impossible to send an ambassador in such an equipage, as, at such an illustrious convention of all the Princes of the empire, was necessary. Wilmot pressed very much for that character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an earl; for which he had obtained the King's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the King, “ that this was a proper season, and very much for the “ advancement of his service: but, that if he had the title “ of an earl, which would be looked upon as a high “ qualification, he would not assume the character of
“ ambassador,

“ambassador, though he would carry such a commission with him, but make all his negotiations as a private “envoy;” of which he promised the King wonderful effects, and pretended to have great assurance of money, and of making levies of men for any expedition.. The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable advantage from this agitation, was contented to make him Earl of Rochester; and gave The King makes Wil- him all such commissions and credentials, as were ne- -mot Earl of cessary for the employment; and sent him from Paris in Rochester; and sends the Christmas time, that he might be at Ratisbon at him to the the meeting of the Diet, which was to be in the begin- Diet at Ra- ning of April following; means having been found to procure so much money as was necessary for that journey, out of the assignment that had been made to the King for his support: of which there was a great arrear due, and which the Cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to Ratisbon as a preparatory for the King’s own remove.

Though Scotland was vanquished, and subdued, to The affairs of Scotland at this time. that degree, that there was no place nor person who made the least shew of opposing Cromwell; who, by the administration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation; yet the preachers kept their pulpit licence; and, more for the affront that was offered to presbytery, than the conscience of what was due to majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the King; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the people against the present government. The Highlanders, by the advantage of their situation, and the hardness of that people, made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters; and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more of their horses: and where

there was most appearance of peace and subjection, if the soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were usually knocked on the head; and no enquiry could discover the malefactors.

The King
sent a com-
mission to
the Earl of
Glencarne.

And Mid-
dleton is
sent into
Scotland.

Many expresses were sent to the King, as well from those who were prisoners in England, as from some lords who were at liberty in Scotland, "that Middleton might be sent into the Highlands with his Majesty's commission;" and in the mean time the Earl of Glencarne, a gallant gentleman, offered, if he were authorized by the King, to draw a body of horse and foot together in the Highlands, and infest the enemy, and be ready to submit to Middleton, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of arms and ammunition. Accordingly the King had sent a commission to the Earl of Glencarne; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave Monk some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that Middleton might be sent over to compose some animosities and emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that union, without which nothing could succeed, his Majesty, about the time that the Earl of Rochester was dispatched for Ratisbon, sent likewise Middleton into Scotland, with some few officers of that nation, and such a poor supply of arms and ammunition, as, by the activity and industry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some merchants and officers in Holland of that nation, who were willing to redeem their country from the slavery it was in. With this very slender assistance he transported himself in the winter into the Highlands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in arms, more broken with faction amongst themselves than by the enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had delivered his thin un-
armed

armed troops to Middleton, and condescended to fight a duel with an inferior officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his command, whether he was troubled to have another command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other men to command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed Middleton's being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the attempt, he retired first to his own house, and then made his peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retained still his affection and fidelity to the King; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the same time he excused himself to the King, for giving over an enterprize which he was not able to prosecute, though Middleton sustained it a full year afterwards.

Glencarne
retires to
his own
house; and
made his
peace with
Monk.

The truth is, the two persons who were most concerned in that expedition had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any success; the King, and Middleton; who had both seen an army of that people, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with victorious troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majesty could not refuse to give them leave to attempt what they believed they could go through with; and Middleton, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be enabled to carry over with him two thousand men, and good store of arms, thought himself obliged to venture his life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned; and by his behaviour there, notwithstanding all
discourage-

discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an adventure that was made during his being in the Highlands, which deserves to be recorded for the honour of the undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young gentleman, one Mr. Wogan, a very handsome person, of the age of three or four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the Parliament service against the King; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all; but so much in the friendship of Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horse, that no man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the murder of the King he was so much improved in age and understanding, that, by that horrible and impious murder, and by the information and advice of sober men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him: and in order thereunto, as soon as the Marquis of Ormond resumed the government of Ireland again for the King, (which was the only place then where any arms were borne for his Majesty), Captain Wogan repaired thither to him through Scotland; and behaved himself with such signal valour, that the Marquis of Ormond gave him the command of his own guards, and every man the testimony of deserving it. He came over with the Marquis into France; and, being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of Middleton's being arrived in Scotland,

land, than he resolved to find himself with him ; and immediately asked the King's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the Court as he could persuade to go with him ; declaring to his Majesty, " that he resolved to pass through England." The King, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majesty, nor the Marquis of Ormond, could divert him ; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations : and there was no news so much talked of in the Court, as that Captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to General Middleton ; and many young gentlemen, and others, who were in Paris, lifted themselves with him for the expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; who, during the time of the King's stay in France, executed the office of Secretary of State, to desire the dispatch of such passes, letters, and commissions, as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the Court, and from the free discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, represented " the danger
" of the enterprise to himself, and the dishonour that
" would reflect upon the King, for suffering men under
" his pass, and with his commission, to expose them-
" selves to inevitable ruin : that it was now the discourse
" of the town, and would without doubt be known in
" England and to Cromwell, before he and his friends
" could get thither, so that it was likely they would be
" apprehended the first minute they set their foot on
" shore ; and how much his own particular person was
" more liable to danger than other men's he knew well ;"
and,

and, upon the whole matter, very earnestly dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expressly refused to make his dispatches, till he could speak with the King; "with whom," he said, "he would do the best he could to persuade his Majesty to hinder his journey;" with which the Captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the King; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the King, that he caused all his dispatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and took post for Calais.

They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked the town; stayed there above three weeks, till they had bought horses, which they quartered at common inns, and lifted men enough of their friends and acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell's soldiers, and from Barnet were full fourscore horse well armed and appointed, and quartered that night at St. Alban's; and from thence, by easy journeys, but out of the common roads, marched safely into Scotland; beat up some quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined Middleton in the Highlands; where poor Wogan, after many brave actions performed there, received upon a party

party an ordinary flesh wound ; which, for want of a good surgeon, proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him. Many of the troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through England, and returned to the King.

In the distress which the King suffered during his abode in France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with him were as angry with the Marquis of Ormond, who lived in great friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the King in all his counsels which were reserved from others ; yet the Marquis's quality, and the great services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions : and they believed his aversion from all their devices to make marriages, and to traffic in religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's displeasure grew so notorious against the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence ; and for many months did not see her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the same house, the palace royal, where both their Majesties kept their Courts ; which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her Majesty, to express a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation : and the Queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the King ; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his Majesty had in his fidelity.

The Queen's displeasure against the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France.

This

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance of an odd nature, and a union between two seemingly irreconcilable factions, the Papists and the Presbyterians: which was discovered to the King by a false brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord Balcarris,

A petition intended of the Scottish Presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be removed.

with Dr. Frazier, and some other Scots about the Court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Presbyterians; and caused a petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the
 " Presbyterian party had great affections to serve his Majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many
 " propositions and advices to offer to his Majesty for the
 " advancement thereof: but that they were discouraged,
 " and hindered from offering the same, by reason that his
 " Majesty entrusted his whole affairs to the Chancellor
 " of the Exchequer; who was an old known and declared
 " enemy to all their party; in whom they could repose
 " no trust: and therefore they besought his Majesty,
 " that he might be removed from his Council, at least
 " not be suffered to be privy to any thing that should
 " be proposed by them; and they should then make it
 " appear how ready and how able they were in a very
 " short time to advance his Majesty's affairs."

And of the Roman Catholics also, against him.

Another petition was prepared in the name of his Roman Catholic subjects; which said, "that all his Majesty's party which had adhered to him were now totally suppressed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his enemies, and submitted to their government: that the church-lands were all sold, and the bishops dead, except very few, who durst not exercise their function: so that he could expect no more aid from any who were concerned to support the government of the Church as it had been formerly established:

“established: that by the defeat of Duke Hamilton’s
“party first, and then by his Majesty’s ill success at
“Worcester, and the total reduction of the kingdom
“of Scotland afterwards by Cromwell, his Majesty
“might conclude what greater aid he was to expect
“from the Presbyterian party. Nothing therefore re-
“mained to him of hope for his restoration, but from
“the affection of his Roman Catholic subjects; who,
“as they would never be wanting as to their persons,
“and their estates which were left, so they had hope to
“draw from the Catholic Princes, and the Pope himself,
“such considerable assistance both in men and money,
“that his Majesty should owe his restitution, under the
“blessing of God, to the sole power and assistance of
“the Catholics. But they had great reason to fear, that
“all these hopes would be obstructed and rendered of
“no use, not only by there being no person about his
“Majesty in whom the Catholics could have any con-
“fidence, but by reason that the person most trusted
“by him, and through whose hands all letters and dis-
“patches must pass, is a known enemy to all Catho-
“lics; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that
“that person, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might
“be removed from him; whereupon he should find
“great benefit to accrue to his service.” It was con-
cluded amongst them, that when these two petitions
should be weighed and considered, the Queen would
easily convince his Majesty, that a person who was so
odious to all the Roman Catholics, from whose affec-
tions his Majesty had most reason to promise himself
relief, and to all the Protestants who could contribute to
his assistance or subsistence, could not be fit to be con-
tinued in any trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the
longer

The design
discovered
by one Mr.
Walsingham
to the
King ;
which
quashed
them both.

longer in preparation, because the persons concerned could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by persons mutually employed, one Mr. Walsingham, a person very well known to all men who at that time knew the palace royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to the King, and, whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery would be grateful to his Majesty, informed him of the whole intrigue, and gave a copy of the petitions to the King ; who shewed them to the Marquis of Ormond, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and informed them of the whole design. And from this time his Majesty made himself very merry with it, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the Queen was present ; and asked pleasantly, “ when the two petitions would be brought against the “ Chancellor of the Exchequer ? ” which being quickly known to some of the persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it ; though both parties continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the King remained in France ; the Queen taking all occasions to complain to the Queen Regent of the King’s unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the Chancellor ; and the Queen Mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself, that any man should dare to interpose between the mother and the son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those complaints appear more reasonable. The Cardinal de Retz had always expressed great civilities towards the King, and a desire to serve him ;

him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the Cardinal asked the King, "whether he had made any attempt to draw any assistance from the Pope, and whether he thought that nothing might be done that way to his advantage?" The King told him, "nothing had been attempted that way; and that he was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do any thing for a man of his faith." The Cardinal smiling, said, "he had no thought of speaking of his faith;" yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest man; "that if any overtures were made him of the change of his religion, he must tell his Majesty, it becomes him as a Cardinal to wish his Majesty a Catholic for the saving his soul; but he must declare too, that if he did change his religion, he would never be restored to his kingdoms." But he said, "he did believe," (though the Pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity; for Innocent the tenth was then living,) "that if some proper application was made to the Princes of Italy, and to the Pope himself, though there would not be gotten wherewithal to raise and maintain armies, there might be somewhat considerable obtained for his more pleasant support, wherever he should choose to reside." He said, "he had himself some alliance with the Great Duke, and interest in other Courts, and in Rome itself; and if his Majesty would give him leave, and trust his discretion, he would write in such a manner in his own name to some of his friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his Majesty, if it brought him no convenience." The King had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the Cardinal asked his Majesty a question or two of matter of fact,

fact, which he could not answer; but told him, "he would give a punctual information of it the next day in a letter:" which the Cardinal desired might be as soon as his Majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it, make his dispatches into Italy. The particular things being out of the King's memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual account from him, his Majesty writ a letter the next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the Cardinal coming one day to the Louvre to see the Queen Mother, he was arrested by the captain of the guard, and sent prisoner to the Bastille; and in one of his pockets, which they searched, that letter the King had sent to him was found, and delivered to the Queen Regent; who presently imparted it to the Queen of England; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the French, the King having, for the secrecy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the Pope, and to other Catholic Princes; and that his Majesty should enter upon any such counsel, without first consulting with the Queen his mother, could proceed only from the instigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Cardinal de Retz sent to the Bastille.

Her Majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the King for his neglect, and gave him his letter. The King was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the Queen Mother had shewed towards him, in communicating his letter in that manner to his mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen Mother, who was in truth a very

very worthy lady, shewed much more kindness to the King. And a little time after, there being a masque at the Court that the King liked very well, he persuaded the Chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the Marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their Majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the Queen Regent asked, "who that fat man was who sat by the Marquis of Ormond?" The King told her aloud, "that was the naughty man who did all the mischief, and set him against his mother:" at which the Queen herself was little less disordered than the Chancellor was. But they within hearing laughed so much, that the Queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage, whom few thought to deserve the reproach.

At this time the King was informed by the French Court, "that Prince Rupert, who had been so long absent, having gone with the fleet from Holland before the murder of the late King, and had not been heard of in some years, was now upon the coast of France, and soon after at Nantes, in the province of Bretagne, with the Swallow, a ship of the King's, and with three or four other ships: and that the Constant Reformation, another ship of the King's, in which Prince Maurice had been, was cast away in the Indies near two years before; and that Prince Rupert himself was returned with very ill health." The King sent presently to welcome him, and to invite him to Paris to attend his health; and his Majesty presumed that, by the arrival of this fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should receive some money, that would enable him to remove out of France; of which he was as weary as it was of him.

Prince Rupert with his fleet arrives at Nantes.

Great expectation was raised in the English Court, that there would be some notable change upon the arrival of this Prince; and though he had professed much kindness to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he parted from Holland, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his friend, the rather for that he had left Ireland with some declared unkindness towards the Marquis of Ormond. And all men knew that the Attorney General, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that Prince; and that his Highness could not be without credit enough with the King to introduce him into business; which they thought would at least lessen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no sooner known that Prince Rupert was landed in France, but the Lord Jermyn visited and made great court to Sir Edward Herbert; between whom and him there had been greater shew of animosity than between any two of the nation who were beyond the seas, they having for some years seldom spoken to, never well of, each other. And Herbert, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that he would have no friendship with any man who believed the other to be an honest man." Between these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the Attorney is every day with the Queen, who had shewed a greater aversion from him than from any man, not only upon the business of the Duke of York, but upon many other occasions. But now she commended him to the King, "as a wise man, of great experience, and of great interest in England."

From the death of Sir Richard Lane, who had been Keeper of the Great Seal under his late Majesty, there had not only been no officer in that place, but, from the defeat at Worcester, the King had been without any
Great,

Great Seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a Great Seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the Queen pressed the King very earnestly, to make the Attorney General Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; which was a promotion very natural, men ordinarily rising from the one office to the other. The King knew the man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when Prince Rupert came to him, he should be pressed both by his mother and him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the man himself were in good humour, he would be of great use in composing any ill humour that should arise in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majesty thought it best (since nobody dissuaded him from the thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the Prince came; and so called him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; with which he seemed wonderfully delighted; and for some time lived well towards every body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present state of affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Before the Prince came to Paris he gave the King such an account, as made it evident that his Majesty was to expect no money: "that what treasure had been gotten together, which, he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been all lost in the ship

The Queen Mother moves the King to make Herbert Lord Keeper; and he is made.

Prince Rupert gives an ill account of his fleet.

“in which himself was,” (that sprung a plank in the Indies, when his Highness was miraculously preserved),
 “and, in the boat, carried to another ship, when that
 “the Antelope, with all the men, and all that had been
 “gotten, sunk in the sea; and that much of the other
 “purchase had been likewise cast away in the ship in
 “which his brother perished; which was after his own
 “misfortune:” so that all that was brought into Nantes
 would scarce pay off the seamen, and discharge some
 debts at Toulon, which the Prince had contracted at
 his former being there, during the time that the King
 had been in Holland: and, “that the ships were all so
 “eaten with worms, even the Swallow itself, that there
 “was no possibility of setting them out again to sea.”
 This was all the account the King could receive of that
 whole affair, when the Prince himself came to Paris;
 with which though the King was not satisfied, yet he
 knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very
 ill that any account should be required of him; and the
 Keeper quickly persuaded his Highness, that it was only
 the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s influence, that dis-
 posed the King with so much strictness to examine his
 account.

An affair
 concerning
 Mr. Long;
 who peti-
 tions the
 King to be
 restored to
 the Secre-
 tary’s place.

There was another design now set on foot, by which
 they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the
 Chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much
 credit with his master. When the King went into
 Scotland, Mr. Robert Long, who hath been mentioned
 before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always
 a creature of the Queen’s, and dependent upon the Lord
 Jermyn, had so behaved himself towards them, during
 his short stay in Scotland, (for he was one of those who
 was removed from the King there, and sent out of that
 kingdom), that when his Majesty returned from Wor-
 cester

cester to Paris, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his Majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any man to serve the King honestly, and to preserve the good opinion of the Queen, and keep the Lord Jermyn's favour." The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and lived privately at Rouen; which was the reason that the Chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the Lord Jermyn and the Keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveighed against Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the Chancellor's credit, than by restoring Long to the execution of the Secretary's function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to the King, "that he might be again restored to his office and attendance, or that he might be charged with his crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent." This petition was presented to the King, when he was in council, by the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the King was surprised, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said, "that her Majesty was the principal cause that induced his Majesty to remove him from his place, and that she then believed that he was not fit for the trust." She said, "she had

Is refused
by the
King.

“ now a better opinion of him, and that she had been “ misinformed.” The King thought it unfit to receive a person into so near a trust, against whose fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and his Majesty knew that few of his friends in England would correspond with him; and therefore would not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the Chancellor’s account, and the influence he had upon the King.

Where-
upon Mr.
Long ac-
cuses the
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer of
his having
been in
England,
and con-
versed with
Cromwell.

The busi-
ness heard
in Council.

Massonet is
produced as
a hearsay
witness of
it.

Thereupon Mr. Long accused the Chancellor of having betrayed the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor pressed, “ that a day “ might be appointed for him to produce his proof:” and at that day the Queen came again to the Council, that she might be present at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions, during the time of the King’s being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and, being released with the rest of the King’s servants, had been employed, from the time of the King’s return, in the same service under the Chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of York, and the rest of the King’s children to write, being indeed the best writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any man in that time.

Massonet said, “ that after his release from his imprisonment, and whilst he stayed in London, he spoke “ with a maid, who had formerly served him, that “ knew the Chancellor very well, and who assured him, “ that one evening she had seen the Chancellor go into
“ Cromwell’s

“ Cromwell’s chamber at Whitehall ; and after he had
“ been shut up with him some hours, she saw him con-
“ ducted out again.” And Mr. Long desired time,
that he might send over for this woman, who should
appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the
Chancellor said, “ he would make no other defence,
“ than that there were persons then in the town, who,
“ he was confident, would avow that they had seen
“ him once every day, from the time he returned from
“ Spain to the day on which he attended his Majesty
“ at Paris ;” as indeed there were ; and when he had
said so, he offered to go out of the room ; which the
King would not have him to do. But he told his Ma-
jesty, “ that it was the course ; and that he ought not
“ to be present at the debate that was to concern him-
“ self ;” and the Keeper, with some warmth, said, “ it
“ was true ;” and so he retired to his own chamber.
The Lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, “ he
“ never thought the accusation had any thing of proba-
“ bility in it ; and that he believed the Chancellor a very
“ honest man : but the use that he thought ought to
“ be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an
“ honest and innocent man might be calumniated, as he
“ thought Mr. Long had likewise been ; and therefore
“ they ought both to be cleared.” The Keeper said, “ he
“ saw not ground enough to condemn the Chancellor ;
“ but he saw no cause neither to declare him inno-
“ cent : that there was one witness which declared only
“ what he had heard ; but that he undertook also to
“ produce the witness herself, if he might have time ;
“ which in justice could not be denied ; and therefore
“ he proposed, that a competent time might be given
“ to Mr. Long to make out his proof ; and that in the
“ mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the
“ Council ;”

"Council:" with which proposition the King was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, "he discerned well the design; and that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception against Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him." And therefore he presently sent for the Chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, "he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent;" which he did do, and commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his Majesty himself would sign.

The King
acquits the
Chancellor.

The Keeper
accuses the
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer of
having
spoken ill of
the King.

The Keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, "if what he heard from a person of honour, who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the Chancellor had aspersed the King in such a manner, and so much reviled his Majesty in point of his honour, that he was not fit to sit there." The Chancellor was wonderfully surprised with the charge; and humbly besought his Majesty, "that the Lord Keeper might produce his author, or be looked upon as the contriver of the scandal." The Keeper answered, "that if his Majesty would appoint an hour the next day for the Council to meet, he would produce the person, who, he was confident, would justify all he had said."

The Lord
Gerard pro-
duced to
prove it.

The next day, the King being sate in Council, the Keeper desired that the Lord Gerard might be called in; who presently appeared; and being asked, "whether he had at any time heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer speak ill of the King?" he answered, "Yes." And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the Chancellor and him a year before,

fore, when the King lay at Chantilly ; “ that one day,
 “ after dinner, the King took the air, and being in the
 “ field his Majesty alighted out of his coach, and took
 “ his horse, with other of the lords, to ride into the
 “ next field to see a dog set partridge ; and that he, the
 “ Lord Gerard, and the Chancellor remained in the
 “ coach, when he entered into discourse of the King’s
 “ condition ; and said, that he thought his Majesty was
 “ not active enough, nor did think of his business ;
 “ and, that the Chancellor, who was known to have
 “ credit with him, ought to advise him to be active,
 “ for his honour and his interest ; otherwise, his friends
 “ would fall from him. But, that it was generally be-
 “ lieved, that he, the Chancellor, had no mind that his
 “ Majesty should put himself into action, but was
 “ rather for sitting still ; and therefore it concerned
 “ him, for his own justification, to persuade the King
 “ to be active, and to leave France, where he could
 “ not but observe that every body was weary of him.
 “ To all which the Chancellor took great pains to purge
 “ himself from being in the fault ; and said, that no-
 “ body could think that he could take delight to stay
 “ in a place where he was so ill used ; but laid all
 “ the fault upon the King ; who, he said, was indis-
 “ posed to business, and took too much delight in
 “ pleasures, and did not love to take pains ; for
 “ which he was heartily sorry, but could not help
 “ it ; which,” Gerard said, “ he thought was a great re-
 “ proach and scandal upon the King, from a man so
 “ obliged and trusted, who ought not to asperse his
 “ master in that manner.”

The Chancellor was a little out of countenance ; and The Chan-
 cellor’s de-
 fence. said, “ he did not expect that accusation from any body,
 “ less that the Lord Gerard should discover any private
 “ discourse

“ discourse that had passed a year before between them
“ two, and which appeared by his relation to have been
“ introduced by himself, and by his own freedom : that
“ whosoever believed that he had a mind to traduce the
“ King, would never believe that he would have chosen
“ the Lord Gerard, who was known to be none of his
“ friend, to have communicated it to.” He said, “ he
“ did very well remember, that the Lord Gerard did, at
“ that time when they two remained alone in the coach,
“ very passionately censure the King’s not being active,
“ and blamed him, the Chancellor, for not persuading
“ his Majesty to put himself into action ; and that he
“ was generally believed to be in the fault. Upon which
“ he had asked him, what he did intend by being active,
“ and what that action was, and where, to which he
“ wished the King should be persuaded ? He answered,
“ with an increase of passion, and addition of oaths, that
“ rather than sit still in France, his Majesty ought to go
“ to every Court in Christendom ; that, instead of send-
“ ing an ambassador who was not fit for any business,
“ he should have gone himself to the Diet at Ratisbon,
“ and solicited his own business ; which would have
“ been more effectual : and that, if he could not find
“ any other way to put himself into action, he ought
“ to go into the Highlands of Scotland to Middleton,
“ and there try his fortune.” To all which the Chan-
cellor said, he did remember that he replied, “ he be-
“ lieved the King was indisposed to any of that action
“ he proposed : and though he did not believe that he
“ had used those expressions, of the King’s delighting
“ in pleasures, and not loving business so well as he
“ ought to do, if the Lord Gerard would positively
“ affirm he had, he would rather confess it, and submit
“ himself to his Majesty’s judgment, if he thought such
“ words

“ words proceeded from any malice in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, continue the debate :” and then he offered to retire ; which the King forbid him to do ; upon which the Keeper was very angry ; and said, “ the words amounted to an offence of a high nature ; and that he was sorry his Majesty was no more sensible of them : that for any man, especially a counsellor, and a man in so near trust, to accuse his master of not loving his business, and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he could to persuade all men to forsake him ;” and proceeding with his usual warmth and positiveness, the King interrupted him ; and said, “ he did really believe the Chancellor had used those very words, because he had often said that, and much more, to himself ; which he had never taken ill : that he did really believe that he was himself in fault, and did not enough delight in his business ; which was not very pleasant ; but he did not know that such putting himself into action, which was the common word, as the Lord Gerard advised, was like to be attended with those benefits, which, he was confident, he wished.” In fine, he declared, “ he was very well satisfied in the Chancellor’s affection, and took nothing ill that he had said ;” and directed the Clerk of the Council to enter such his Majesty’s declaration in his book ; with which both the Keeper and the Lord Gerard were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the Chancellor, during the time of his Majesty’s abode in France. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the King’s return into England, there came the woman to the Chancellor, who had been carried over to Rouen by Massonet, and importuned by Mr. Long to testify that she had seen the Chancellor with Cromwell ; for which she should

should have a present liberal reward in money from him, and a good service at Paris; which when the woman refused to do, he gave her money for her journey back, and so she returned: of which the Chancellor informed the King. But Mr. Long himself coming at the same time to him, and making great acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr. Long seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The King, wearied with these domestic vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the French Court to him, grew very impatient to leave France; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive money by the return of Prince Rupert with that fleet, he hoped that, when the prizes should be sold, and all the seamen discharged, and Prince Rupert be satisfied his demands, which were very large, there would be still left the ships, and ordnance, and tackling, which (though they required great charge to be fitted out again to sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good sum of money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the ship itself, fifty good brass guns on board the Swallow, which were very valuable. His Majesty therefore writ to Prince Rupert, (who was returned to Nantes to discharge some seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the prizes), "that he should find some good chapmen to buy the
"ships, and ordnance, and tackle, at the value they
"were worth:" which was no sooner known at Nantes, than there appeared chapmen enough, besides the Marshal of Melleray, who being governor of that place, and of the province, had much money always by him
to

to lay out on such occasions. And the Prince writ the King word, "that he had then a good chapman, who "would pay well for the brass cannon; and that he "should put off all the rest at good rates." But he writ again the next week, "that, when he had even "finished the contract for the brass cannon, there came "an order from the Court, that no man should presume "to buy the brass cannon, and to Marshal Melleray "to take care that they were not carried out of that "port."

The Prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from Cromwell; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the Swallow itself, if not to the other ships; and the Marshal contributed to and cherished this jealousy, that the better markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highness first came into that port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and trust, "that he should use all expedition in the "sale of the prizes, lest either Cromwell should demand "the whole, (which he much doubted), or that the "merchants, owners of the goods, should, upon the "hearing where they were, send and arrest the said ships "and goods, and demand restitution to be made of "them in a course of justice; in either of which cases," he said, "he did not know, considering how things "stood with England, what the Court would determine:" though, he promised, "he would extend his authority "to serve the Prince, as far as he could with his own "safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any "orders he should receive, till the Prince might facilitate the dispatch:" and by this kind advice very good bargains

bargains had been made for those goods which had been sold ; of which the Marshal had an account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome advertisement, the King made his address to the Cardinal to revoke this order ; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, “ that the money, which should be “ raised upon the sale of those cannon, was the only “ means he had to remove himself out of France, which “ he intended shortly to do, and to go to the hither “ parts of Germany, and that his sister, the Princess of “ Orange, and he, had some thoughts of finding themselves together, in the beginning of the summer, at “ the Spa :” which indeed had newly entered into the King’s consideration, and had been entertained by the Princess Royal ; the Cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his Majesty, “ that this order was not “ newly made, but had been very ancient, that no merchants or any private subjects should buy any brass ordnance in any port, lest ill use might be made of them ; and that the order was not now revived with any purpose to bring any prejudice to his Majesty ; “ who should be no loser by the restraint ; for that himself would buy the ordnance, and give as much for them as they were worth ; in order to which, he would forthwith send an agent to Nantes to see the cannon ; and, upon conference with a person employed by the King, they two should agree upon the price, and then the money should be all paid together to his Majesty “ in Paris :” intimating “ that he would dispute the “ matter afterwards with Cromwell ;” as if he knew, or foresaw, that he would make some demand.

It was well for the King that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris ; for of all the money

money paid or received at Nantes, as well for the ships, tackle, and ordnance, as for the prize-goods, not one penny ever came to the King's hands, or to his use, but what he received at Paris from the Cardinal for the brass guns which were upon the Swallow; for the valuing whereof the King sent one thither to treat with the officer of the Cardinal. All the rest was disposed, as well as received, by Prince Rupert; who, when he returned to Paris, gave his Majesty a confused account; and averred, "that the expences had been so great, that there was not only no money remaining in his hands, but that there was a debt still due to a merchant;" which he desired his Majesty to promise to satisfy.

The King's resolution to go into Germany was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of France, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove.

The King resolves to go into Germany.

But his Majesty, who needed no spurs for that journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary impertunity of his friends in England; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the Cardinal and Cromwell, and knowing that the alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majesty's person might be given up; and thereupon they sent Harry Seymour, who, being of his Majesty's Bedchamber, and having his leave to attend his own affairs in England, they well knew would be believed by the King, and being addressed only to the Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the King privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and divers messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was

Mr. Harry Seymour sent to the King from his friends in England.

sent by the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, with the privity of those few who were trusted by them, "to be very importunate with the King, that he would remove out of France; and to communicate to his Majesty all which they received from persons who were admitted into many of the secret resolutions and purposes of Cromwell." And because they well knew in what straits the King was for money, they found some means at that time to send him a supply of about three thousand pounds; which the King received, and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word likewise, "that wherever he should choose to reside out of France, they were confident his servants in England, under what persecution soever they lay, would send him some supply: but whilst he remained in France, nobody would be prevailed with to send to him." The King was glad to be confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his friends' advice; and that they had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his debts were so great in Paris, and the servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a journey, that, if the Cardinal, over and above the money for the cannon, (which the King did not desire to receive till the last), did not take care for the payment of all the arrears, which were due upon the assignment they had made to him, he should not be able to make his journey.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for when the Cardinal was satisfied that his Majesty had a full resolution to be gone, which he still doubted, till he heard from Holland that the Princess Royal did really provide for her journey to the Spa, he did let the King
know,

know, "that, against the time that his Majesty appointed
 "his remove, his arrears should be either entirely paid, or
 "so much of his debts secured to his creditors, as The Cardinal pays the King all his arrears from France.
 "should well satisfy them; and the rest should be paid
 "to his receiver for the charge of the journey;" and
 likewise assured his Majesty, "that, for the future, the
 "monthly assignation should be punctually paid to
 "whomsoever his Majesty would appoint to receive it."
 This promise was better complied with than any other
 that had been made, till, some years after, the King
 thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which
 will be remembered in its place.

All things being in this state, the King declared his
 resolution to begin his journey, as soon as he could put
 himself into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of
 the money he expected; and all preparations were made
 for enabling the family to be ready to wait upon his
 Majesty, and for the better regulating and governing
 it, when the King should be out of France; there hav-
 ing never been any order taken in it whilst he remained
 there, nor could be, because his Majesty had always
 eaten with the Queen, and her officers had governed
 the expence; so that by the failing of receiving money
 that was promised, and by the Queen's officers receiving
 all that was paid, to carry on the expence of their Ma-
 jefty's table, which the King's servants durst not enquire
 into, very few of his Majesty's servants had received any
 wages from the time of his coming from Worcester to
 the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible
 now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect,
 but they were to be contented with such a proportion
 as could be spared, and which might enable them,
 without reproach and scandal, to leave Paris and attend
 him. They were all modest in their desires, hoping

that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obstruction, that he least suspected, from the extraordinary narrowness of the Cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The agent he had sent to Nantes to view the cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last offered much less than they were worth, and than the other merchant had offered, when the injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propose in this. The Cardinal said, "he understood not the price of cannon himself, and therefore he had employed a man that did; and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by his conduct; who assured him, that he offered as much as they could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the King's behalf, "that he would permit others to buy them;" which, he said, "he could not do, because of the King his master's restraint; and if any merchant, or other person, should agree for them, Cromwell would demand them wherever they should be found; and there were not many that would dispute the right with him." In conclusion, the King was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the money, all allowance for paying it in gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest merchant, than by a member of the sacred college, who would be esteemed a Prince of the Church.

The condition of King Charles the First's children after their father's death.

Whilst the King is preparing for his journey to meet the Princess of Orange, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his brothers and sisters.

After

After that the Princess Henrietta had been secretly conveyed from Oatlands into France, by the Lady Moreton her governess, in the year forty-six; and the Duke of York, in the year forty-eight, had made his escape from St. James's; where he, and the rest of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the Earl of Northumberland; the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government. But the other two, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, were committed to the Countess of Leicester; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury, as might well defray their expences with that respect that was due to their birth; which was performed towards them as long as the King their father lived. But as soon as the King was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the eyes and application of people towards them. The allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given, "that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table." Whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the Earl of Leicester's in Kent; where they lived under the tuition of the same Countess, who observed the order of the Parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them.

There, by an act of Providence, Mr. Lovel, an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the house

of Leiceſter, became likewiſe tutor to the Duke of Glouceſter; who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well inſtructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the King his brother: all which made the deeper impreſſion in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of thoſe inſtructions which the King his father had, with much fervor, given him before his death. But ſhortly after, the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Glouceſter were removed from the government of the Counteſs of Leiceſter, and ſent into the Iſle of Wight to Carisbrook Caſtle; where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an aſſignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required ſtrictly, “that no “perſon ſhould be permitted to kiſs their hands, and “that they ſhould not be otherwiſe treated than as the “children of a gentleman;” which Mildmay obſerved very exactly; and the Duke of Glouceſter was not called by any other ſtyle than, Mr. Harry. The tutor was continued, and ſent thither with him; which pleaſed him very well. And here they remained at leaſt two or three years. The Princeſs died in this place; and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poiſon; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and ſuſpicion made any impreſſion in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the Duke of Glouceſter, who was now about twelve years of age, and a prince of extraordinary hopes both from the comelineſs and gracefullneſs of his perſon, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and underſtanding,

derstanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to the Parliament, "that
 "he was well content that the son of the late King,
 "who was then in Carisbrook Castle, should have liberty
 "to transport himself into any parts beyond the seas, as
 "he should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the Duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order, and warrant, as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the Parliament that gave him liberty to go over the seas with the Duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the Commissioners of the Treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and expences of the voyage; being left to provide a ship himself, and being obliged to embark at the Isle of Wight, and not to suffer the Duke to go on shore in any other part of England.

This happened in the latter end of the year 1652; and was so well prosecuted, that, soon after, the King received advertisement from his sister in Holland, "that
 "the Duke of Gloucester was arrived there; and would

“be the next day with her;” which was no sooner known than the Queen very earnestly desired, that he might be presently sent for to Paris, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was born, the troubles were so far advanced, that her Majesty made her voyage into Holland, and from that time had never seen him. The King could not refuse to satisfy his mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had dispatched presently a messenger to the Hague, that his brother might make all possible haste to Paris. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

Mr. Stephen Fox admitted to manage the King's money.

Now all expedition was used to provide for the King's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the charge of governing the expences of the family, and of payment of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the Court resided any where, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord Peirce, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's household. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a trust; and indeed his great industry, modesty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his Majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris.

Prince Rupert was now returned from Nantes; and finding

finding that he should receive none of the money the Cardinal was to pay for the brass ordnance, and being every day more indisposed by the chagrin humour of the Keeper, (who endeavoured to inflame him against the King, as well as against most other men, and thought his Highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and friendship for him, except he fell out with every body with whom he was angry), resolved to leave the King; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other man, by the despair that seemed to attend the King's fortune; and told his Majesty, "that he was resolved to look after his own affairs in Germany; and first to visit his brother in the Palatinate, and require what was due from him for his appanage; and then to go to the Emperor, to receive the money that was due to him upon the treaty of Munster;" which was to be all paid by the Emperor: from the prosecution of which purpose his Majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the Prince expected; which raised his natural passion; inasmuch, as the day when he took his leave, that nobody might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon, the King, he told his Majesty, "that, if he pleased, he might dispose of the place of Master of the Horse;" in which he had been settled by the late King, and his present Majesty had, to preserve that office for him, and to take away the pretence the Lord Peircy might have to it, by his having had that office to the Prince of Wales, recompensed him with the place of Lord Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the King bore this resignation likewise from the Prince with the same countenance as he had done his first resolution; and so, towards the end of April,

Prince Rupert leaves the King; and goes into Germany.

Resigns to him the place of Master of the Horse.

April, or the beginning of May, his Highness left the King, and begun his journey for the Palatinate.

Shortly after the Prince was gone, the King begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a list of his servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a conjuncture, as God Almighty should give him, that might invite him to new activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best he could for it, by having only such about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the list of those who were to go with him, he left his name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and asked him, "whether he did not intend that he should wait upon him?" His Majesty told him, "No; for that he resolved to make no use of his Great Seal; and therefore that he should stay at Paris, and not put himself to the trouble of such a journey, which he himself intended to make without the ease and benefit of a coach:" which in truth he did, putting his coach-horses in a waggon, wherein his bed and clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a coach in some years after. The Keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great Seal, and delivered it to him; and desired, "that he would sign a paper, in which his Majesty acknowledged, that he had received again his Great Seal from him;" which the King very willingly signed; and he immediately removed his lodging, and left

The Lord
Keeper
Herbert re-
signs his of-
fice to the
King.

left the Court; and never after saw his Majesty; which did not at all please the Queen; who was as much troubled that he was to stay where she was, as that he did not go with the King.

The Queen prevailed with the King, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the Duke of Gloucester with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disoblighing her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been bred till he came into France, without learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a court, or good company; and being now in a place, and at an age, that he might be instructed in all these, to carry him away from all these advantages to live in Germany, would be interpreted by all the world, not only to be want of kindness towards his brother, but want of all manner of respect to her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the King's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his religion; which when the Queen had assured the King "was not in her thought, and that she would not permit any such attempt to be made," his Majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his Majesty to begin his journey, the King desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might likewise part in the Queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, she having been so severe towards him, that he had not for some months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her Majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any advance towards it.

But

Upon the
King's de-
parture
from
France, the
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer
had an audi-
ence of the
Queen
Mother.

But the day before the King was to be gone, the Lord Peircy, who was directed by his Majesty to speak in the affair, and who in truth had kindness for the Chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust, brought him word that the Queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her Majesty, they found her alone in her private gallery, and the Lord Peircy withdrawing to the other end of the room, the Chancellor told her Majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped, she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her Majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his duty, and receive her commands, with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him." The Queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the King's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all men; and that all men took notice, that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her roof," (for the house was her's,) "and that she thought she had not seen him in six months before; which she looked upon as so high an affront, that only her respect towards the King prevailed with her to endure it."

When her Majesty made a pause, the Chancellor said, "that her Majesty had only mentioned his punish-
ment,

“ ment, and nothing of his fault : that how great soever
“ his infirmities were in defect of understanding, or in
“ good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam ;
“ which he had deserved to be, if he had affected to
“ publish to the world that he was in the Queen’s dis-
“ favour, by avoiding to be seen by her : that he had
“ no kind of apprehension that they who thought worst
“ of him, would ever believe him to be such a fool, as
“ to provoke the wife of his dead master, the greatness
“ of whose affections to her was well known to him,
“ and the mother of the King, who subsisted by her fa-
“ vour, and all this in France, where himself was a
“ banished person, and she at home, where she might
“ oblige or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that
“ he was well assured, that nobody would think him
“ guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all
“ the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her grace
“ and protection : that it was very true, he had been
“ long without the presumption of being in her Ma-
“ jesty’s presence, after he had undergone many sharp
“ instances of her displeasure, and after he had observed
“ some alteration and aversion in her Majesty’s looks
“ and countenance, upon his coming into the room
“ where she was, and during the time he stayed there ;
“ which others likewise observed so much, that they
“ withdrew from holding any conversation with him in
“ those places, out of fear to offend her Majesty : that
“ he had often desired, by several persons, to know the
“ cause of her Majesty’s displeasure, and that he might
“ be admitted to clear himself from any unworthy sug-
“ gestions which had been made of him to her Majesty ;
“ but could never obtain that honour ; and therefore
“ he had conceived, that he was obliged, in good
“ manners, to remove so unacceptable an object from
“ the

by doing her a service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her person: and they pursued it with his Majesty with all their artifices. They added the reputation of her wisdom and virtue to that of her beauty, and “that she might be instrumental to
“the procuring more friends towards his restoration,
“than any other expedient then in view;” and at last prevailed so far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect esteem of her, that he made the overture to her of marriage; which she received with her natural modesty and address, declaring herself “to be much unworthy of that grace;” and beseeching and advising him “to preserve that affection and inclination for an
“object more equal to him, and more capable to contribute to his service;” using all those arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and inflame him to new importunities.

Though these lords made themselves, upon this advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the French Court would obstruct it, as they had done that of Mademoiselle; nor could they persuade the lady herself to depart from her dignity, and to use any of those arts which might expedite the design. The Earl of Bristol therefore, that the news might not come to his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the King’s that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the lady, “as a person that would exceedingly cultivate the King’s nature, and render him
“much more dexterous to advance his fortune:” and therefore he professed, “that he would not dissuade
“his

“his Majesty from gratifying so noble an affection;” and used many arguments to persuade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great presumption for interposing in an affair of so delicate a nature, as by his conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he seemed resolved to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King’s own inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her house; where those lords made their last effort; and his Majesty, with great esteem of the lady’s virtue and wisdom, the next day joined his family, and prosecuted his journey towards Flanders; his small step out of the way having raised a confident rumour in Paris that he was married to that lady.

The King had received a pass from the Archduke for his passing through Flanders, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his journey; and he found the gates of Cambray shut when he came thither, and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, “by reason that they understood the enemy was at hand, and intended to sit down before that city;” of which there appeared in the face of all the people, and the governor himself,

The King
comes to
Cambray in
his journey.

himself, a terrible apprehension. But, upon recollection, his Majesty was well received by the governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his house; who was the better composed by his Majesty's assuring him, "that the French army was at a great distance from him, and that his Majesty had passed through it the day before," (when Marshal Turenne had drawn up the army to receive his Majesty; the Duke of York having there likewise taken his leave of the King), "and, by the march that they then appeared to make, there was great reason to conclude that they had no design upon Cambray;" which good information made the King's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that supper, and lodging that night, his Majesty had not the least address from the Archduke, who was within four or five leagues with his army, but passed without the least notice taken of him, through those provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the Spaniards, left their shewing any respect to the King in his passage through their country, should incense Cromwell against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

The King passes through Flanders without being taken notice of by the Archduke.

His Majesty intended to have made no stay, having received letters from the Hague, that his sister was already in her journey for the Spa. But, when he came to Mons, he found two gentlemen there, who came out of England with letters and instructions from those of his friends there who retained their old affections. By them his Majesty was informed, that many of them recovered new courage from the general discontent which possessed the kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual oppressions and tyranny they sustained. The taxes and impositions every day were augmented, and Cromwell, and his Council, did greater acts of sovereignty

At Mons he meets with messengers to him from his friends in England.

They notify to him the state of affairs in England, relating chiefly to Cromwell and his army.

veteignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All gaoles were full of such persons as contradicted their commands, and were suspected to wish well to the King; and there appeared such a rend among the officers of the army, that the Protector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his security, so it proved of great reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the licence of the common soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures, and reproaches of him, and his tyrannical proceedings, (which liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the affections and inclinations of other men, and for his service), did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were soldiers of this or that regiment, and under this or that captain, whose officers he knew well hated him, and who had their soldiers so much at their devotion, that they could lead them upon any enterprise: and he knew well that this seditious spirit possessed many of the principal officers both of horse and foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by Lambert, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic and undiscerned spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any reformation, (which the army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a council of war, where they knew they had many friends), but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferred

it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own stars, he cashiered ten or a dozen officers, though not of the highest command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others, and most pernicious to him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touched by it, and that the men who had done so much mischief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular men, did not only lose all their credit with the soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation towards all other men. This gave him more ease than he had before enjoyed, and raised his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like provocations, and gave him great credit and authority with those who had believed that many officers had a greater influence upon the army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some war in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a peace with the Dutch, he took greater care to increase his stores and magazines of arms and ammunition, and to build more ships than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great fleets in the winter, under officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and landmen were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal officers amongst these made great professions of duty to the King; and made tender of their service to his Majesty by these gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a day's stay at Mons, to dispatch those gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such commissions were prepared for them, and such instructions, as were desired by those who employed them.

And

And his Majesty gave nothing so much in charge to the messengers, and to all his friends in England with whom he had correspondence, as, "that they should live quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable attempt, or giving advantage to those who watched them, to put them into prison, and to ruin their estates and families." He told them, "the vanity of imagining that any insurrection could give any trouble to so well a formed and disciplined army, and the destruction that must attend such a rash attempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture his own person with them in any reasonable and well formed undertaking; so he would with patience attend God's own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very necessary that such commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able men, in expectation of two contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a schism in the army, as might divide it upon contrary interests into open contests, and declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal schism in the government: the other, the death of Cromwell, which was conspired by the Levellers, under several combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the army would remain united to the particular design of any single person, but that the Parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by Cromwell, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme government.

Lambert, who was unquestionably the second person

The King
advises his
friends in
England to
be quiet.

in the command of the army, and was thought to be the first in their affections, had had no less hand than Cromwell himself in the dissolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raising him to be Protector under the Instrument of Government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute command of an army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their masters. Then Monk, who had the absolute command in Scotland, and was his rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the government of Lambert, if he had no other title to it than his own presumption; and Harry Cromwell had made himself so popular in Ireland, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a man whom he knew to be his father's greatest enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in England who were the most wary and averse from any rash attempt, that they all wished that commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the King, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few men thought there was reason to despair.

The King having in this manner dispatched those messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his friends, continued his journey from Mons to Namur; where he had a pleasant passage by water to Liege; from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the Spa, the next day after the Princess Royal, his beloved sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the joy of being out of France,

The King arrives at the Spa, where he meets the Princess of Orange.

France, where his Majesty had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his sister to stay longer from her own affairs in Holland, than the pretence of her health required, so the Spa was a place that nobody could stay longer in than the season for the waters continued; which ended with the summer.

The King no sooner arrived at the Spa, than the Earl of Rochester returned thither to him from his negotiation at Ratifbon; where he had remained during the Diet, without owning the character he might have assumed; yet performed all the offices with the Emperor, and the other Princes, with less noise and expence, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the German Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a King of the Romans was of vast expence to every one of them, and full of faction and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think of any business but what concerned themselves: yet in the close of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of Mentz, who was esteemed the wisest and most practical Prince of the empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King, that assembly was prevailed with to grant a subsidy of four romer months; which is the measure of all taxes and impositions in Germany; that is, by the romer months, which every Prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their subjects in their own method. This money was to be paid towards the better support of the King of Great Britain. And the Elector of

The Earl of Rochester returns to the King from Ratifbon.

The King obtains a small subsidy from the Diet in Germany.

Mentz, by his own example, persuaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of Rochester, who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable sum upon so important an occasion. But the Emperor himself paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongst whom were the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had both received great obligations from King James, and the last King his son: so that the whole that was ever paid to the King did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling; a great part whereof was spent in the negociation of the Earl, and in the many journeys he made to the Princes, being extremely possessed with the spirit of being the King's General, which he thought he should not be, except he made levies of men; for which he was very solicitous to make contracts with old German officers, when there was neither port in view, where he might embark them, nor a possibility of procuring ships to transport them, though Cromwell had not been possessed of any naval power to have resisted them; so blind men are, whose passions are so strong, and their judgment so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

That part of the money that was paid to his Majesty's use was managed with very good husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered family, which with his own expences for his table, and his stable, and the board-wages, with which all his servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left France, amounted not to above six hundred pistoles a month; which expence was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into

The
monthly
expences of
the King's
small fa-
mily.

into Holland in order to his return into England. This method in the managery gave the King great ease ; contented, and kept the family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected ; and was the more satisfactory, by the no care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the King had made in France.

The King stayed not so long at the Spa as he meant to have done, the small pox breaking out there ; and one of the young ladies who attended upon the Princess Royal, being seized upon by it, died : so that his Majesty, and his sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the Spa to Aken, or Aquisgrane, an imperial and free town, governed by their own magistrates ; where the King of the Romans ought to receive his first iron crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold waters of the Spa, and was a part of the prescription which the physicians had made to the Princess, after she should have finished her waters in the other place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those baths, the Courts removed now thither ; but in truth with a design that the King might make his residence there, the town being large, and the country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the journeys in those countries are measured by hours) of Maeftricht, the most pleasant seat within the dominions of the United Provinces. The magistrates received the King so civilly, that his Majesty, who knew no other place where he was sure to be admitted, resolved to stay there ; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient house, which belonged to one who was called a Baron ; whither he resolved to remove, as soon as his sister, who
had

The King
removes to
Aken from
the Spa.

had taken the two great inns of the town for her's and the King's accommodation, should return into Holland.

Secretary
Nicholas
comes
hither to
the King,
and the
King gives
him the sig-
net.

Here the good old Secretary Nicholas, who had remained in Holland from the time that, upon the treaty of Breda, the King had transported himself into Scotland, presented himself to his Majesty; who received him very graciously, as a person of great merit and integrity from the beginning of the troubles, and always entirely trusted by the King his father. And now to him the King gave his signet; which for three years had been kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in France to be admitted into the Secretary's office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that Nicholas might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to Aken, desired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a fast friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

The ac-
counts the
King re-
ceives here
out of
England.

When the King remained at Aken, he received many expresses out of England, which informed him of the renewed courage of his friends there: that the faction and animosity which every day appeared between the officers of the army, and in Cromwell's Council, upon particular interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an intelligence entered into throughout the kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they
sent

sent now to the King to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies ; and sent for more commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The King renewed his commands to them, “ not to flatter them-
 “ selves with vain imaginations ; nor to give too easy
 “ credit to appearances of factions and divisions ; which
 “ would always be counterfeited, that they might the
 “ more easily discover the agitations and transactions of
 “ those upon whom they looked as inveterate and irre-
 “ conciliable enemies to the government.”

He gives the same advice as before to his friends.

News came from Scotland, that Middleton had some
 successes in the Highlands ; and the Scottish lords who
 were prisoners in England assured the King, “ that
 “ there was now so entire a union in that nation for his
 “ service, that they wished his Majesty himself would
 “ venture thither :” and the Lord Balcarris, who was
 with the King, and entrusted by that people, used
 much instance with him to that purpose ; which, how
 unreasonable soever the advice seemed to be, men knew
 not how to contradict by proposing any thing that
 seemed more reasonable ; and so underwent the reproach
 of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit
 to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger ;
 without which, it was thought, his Majesty could not
 expect to be restored to any part of his sovereignty.

The King receives an account from Scotland and Middleton.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer one day representing to the King the sadness of his condition, and the
 general discourses of men, and, “ that it was his Ma-
 “ jesty’s misfortune to be thought by many not to be
 “ active enough towards his own redemption, and to
 “ love his ease too much, in respect both of his age
 “ and his fortune,” desired him “ to consider upon this
 “ news,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer’s discourse to the King concerning his going into Scotland.

“ news, and importunity from Scotland, whether in
 “ those Highlands there might not be such a safe re-
 “ treat and residence, that he might reasonably say,
 “ that with the affections of that people, which had
 “ been always firm both to his father and himself, he
 “ might preserve himself in safety, though he could not
 “ hope to make any advance, or recover the lower part
 “ of that kingdom possessed by the enemy ; and if so,
 “ whether he might not expect the good hand of Provi-
 “ dence, by some revolution, more honourably there,
 “ than in such corners of other Princes’ dominions, as
 The King’s “ he might be forced to put himself into.” His Ma-
 reply. jesty discoursed very calmly of that country, part where-
 of he had seen ; of the miserable poverty of the people,
 and their course of life ; and how “ impossible it was
 “ for him to live there with security or with health ; that,
 “ if sickness did not destroy him, which he had reason
 “ to expect from the ill accommodation he must be
 “ there contented with, he should in a short time be
 “ betrayed and given up.” And in this debate, he told
 him that melancholic conclusion, which David Lesley
 made at Warrington-bridge, which is mentioned before,
 when he told the King, “ that those men would never
 “ fight ;” which his Majesty had never, he said, told to
 any body before. However, he said, “ if his friends
 “ would advise him to that expedition, he would trans-
 “ port himself into the Highlands ; though he knew
 “ what would come of it, and that they would be sorry
 “ for it :” which stopped the Chancellor from ever say-
 ing more to that purpose. And it was not long after
 that news came, of Middleton’s having been like to be
 given up to the enemy by the treachery of that people,
 and of the defeat his troops had received, and that he
 should be at last forced to quit that miserable country ;
 which,

which, however, he resolved to endure, as long as should be possible.

The season of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the Princess Royal to return to the Hague, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some act prejudicial to her and her son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind differences between her and the Princess Dowager, mother of the deceased Prince of Orange, a lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own interest. The air of Aken, and the ill smell of the baths, made that place less agreeable to the King than at first he believed it to be; and he wished to find a better town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The city of Cologne was distant from Aken two short days' journey, and had the fame of an excellent situation. But the people were reported to be of a proud and mutinous nature, always in rebellion against their Bishop and Prince, and of so much bigotry in religion that they had expelled all Protestants out of their city, and would suffer no exercise of religion, but of the Roman Catholic. So that there seemed little hope that they would permit the King to reside there; the rather, because it was the staple for the wines of that country, and maintained a good intelligence and trade with England. If the King should send thither to provide a house, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places, and Aken itself, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the Princess Royal should make Cologne her way into Holland, which was reasonable enough, by the convenience of the river for the commodious transportation of her goods
and

In September the King and his sister come to Cologne.

and family : and the King, accompanying her so far, might make a judgment, upon his observation, whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to Aken ; where he would leave his family, as the place where he had taken a house, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left Aken, about the middle of September ; and lodging one night at Juliers, a little dirty town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a quarrel between so many of the princes of Europe, nor of the fame it got by the siege, they came the next day to Cologne ; where they were received with all the respect, pomp, and magnificence, that could be expected, or the city could perform. The house, which the harbingers of the Princess had taken for her reception, served likewise to accommodate the King ; and the magistrates performed their respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

Cologne is a city most pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Rhine ; of a large extent, and fair and substantial buildings ; and encompassed with a broad and excellent rampart, upon which are fair walks of great elms, where two coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the walls of Antwerp, but rather superior, because this goes round the town. The government is under the senate and consuls ; of whom there was one then consul, who said “ he was descended “ from father to son of a Patrician Roman family, that “ had continued from the time the colony was first “ planted there.” It had never been otherwise subject to the Bishops, than in some points which refer to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; which they sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the magistrates always oppose : and that gives the subject of the discourse of jealousies, and contests, between their Prince and them ; which are neither
so

so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never resides there, but keeps his court at his castle of Bonne, near four miles from thence: And that Elector, who was of the house of Bavaria, and a melancholic and peevish man, had not then been in the city in very many years. The number of churches and religious houses is incredible; inasmuch as it was then averred, "that the religious persons and churchmen made up a full moiety of the inhabitants of the town;" and their interest and authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the King came thither, they expelled all those of the Protestant religion, contrary to the advice of the wisest of the magistrates; who confessed "that the trade of the town was much decayed thereby, and the poverty thereof much increased." And it is very possible, that the vast number and unskilful zeal of the ecclesiastical and religious persons may at some time expose that noble city to the surprise of some powerful prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoyed privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's stay there, a design by the French to have surprised it; Schomberg lying many days in wait there, to have performed that service; which was very hardly prevented. The people are so much more civil than they were reported to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the laws of society and conversation better than any other people of Germany. To the King they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at Aken, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that city could yield him, and of all the affection and duty they could pay him; which his Majesty most willingly accepted; and giving order for the payment

The citizens invite the King to reside there.

The King
fixes there.

ment of the rent of the house he had taken at Aken, which he had not at all used, and other disbursements, which the master of the house had made to make it the more convenient for his Majesty, and likewise sending very gracious letters to the magistrates of that town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his family which remained there, to attend him at Cologne; where he declared he would spend that winter.

As soon as the King came to Cologne, he sent to the neighbour Princes, by proper messages and insinuations; for that money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his Majesty; which though it amounted to no great sum, yet was of great conveniency to his support. The Duke of Newburgh, whose Court was at Duffeldorp, a small day's journey from Cologne, and by which the Princess Royal was to pass if she made use of the river, sent his proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of entertaining the King and his sister in his palace, as she returned." However he forbore to make any solemn invitation, without which they could not make the visit, till some ceremonies were first adjusted; upon which that nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other people in Europe. He who gave the intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his Majesty's and her Royal Highness's arrival in those parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of moment, and the rest were formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "that the King, at their first meeting, should at least once treat the Duke
" with

“ with *Alteſſe* ;” the other, “ that the Duke might ſalute the Princeſs Royal ;” and without conſenting to theſe two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the King and his ſiſter were naturally enough inclined to new fights and feſtivities; and the King thought it of moment to him to receive the reſpect and civility of any of the German Princes: and among them, there were few more conſiderable in their dominions, and none in their perſons, than the Duke of Newburgh; who reckoned himſelf upon the ſame level with the Electors. And the King was informed, “ that the Emperor himſelf al-ways treated him with *Alteſſe* ;” and therefore his Maſteſty made no ſcruple of giving him the ſame. The matter of ſaluting the Princeſs Royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been ſo punctually preſerved, from the time of her coming into Holland, that the old Prince of Orange, father of her huſband, would never pretend to it: yet that ceremony depending only upon the cuſtom of countries, and the Duke of Newburgh being a ſovereign Prince, inferior to none in Germany, and his ambaffador always covering before the Emperor, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highneſs conſented, that the Duke ſhould ſalute her. And ſo all matters being adjusted without any noiſe, the King, about the middle of October, accompanied his ſiſter by water to Duſſeldorp; where they arrived between three and four of the clock in the afternoon; and found the Duke and his Duchefs waiting for them on the ſide of the water; where after having performed their mutual civilities and compliments, the King, and the Princeſs Royal, and the Duke and the Duchefs of Newburgh, went into the Duke’s coach, and the company into the coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the caſtle, that was very near; where his

Majesty was conducted into his quarter, and the Princess into her's, the Duke and the Duchess immediately retiring into their own quarters ; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the King again till above half an hour before supper, and after the King and Princess had performed their devotion.

The castle is a very princely house, having been the seat of the Duke of Cleve ; which duchy, together with that of Juliers, having lately fallen to heirs females, (whereof the mothers of the Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke of Newburgh, were two), when all the pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of Dusseldorp, by agreement, afterwards remained still to Newburgh ; whose father, being of the reformed religion in the late contention, found the house of Brandenburg too strong for him, by having the Prince of Orange and the States his fast friends ; and thereupon, that he might have a strong support from the Emperor and King of Spain, became Roman Catholic, and thereby had the assistance he expected. At the same time he put his son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits ; by which education, the present Duke was with more than ordinary bigotry zealous in the Roman religion.

He was a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough restrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality ; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished Prince, and became himself very well, having a good person, and graceful motion. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the sister of the former, and the then King of Poland ; who leaving only a daughter, he was now
newly

newly married to the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who upon her marriage became Roman Catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language and vivacity, to contribute to the entertainment ; so that she was rather a spectator of the festivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his Majesty and his sister and the Duke and the Duchess only sate : the meals, according to the custom of Germany, very long, with several sorts of music, both of instruments and voices ; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his Majesty was accustomed to hear. There was wine in abundance, but no man pressed to drink, if he called not for it ; and the Duke himself an enemy to all excesses.

After two days spent in this manner, in which time the King made a great friendship with the Duke, which always continued, they parted ; and there being near the river, distant another short day's journey, a handsome open town of good receipt, called Santen, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was assigned to the Elector of Brandenburg, the King resolved to accompany his sister thither ; where having spent that night, the next morning her Royal Highness, after an unwilling farewell, prosecuted her journey to Holland, and his Majesty returned by horse to Cologne ; where the same house was prepared for him in which he and his sister had inhabited, whilst she stayed there. And by this time the end of October was come ; which, in those parts, is more than the entrance into winter. The magistrates of the city renewed their civilities, and pro-

The King brings his sister to Santen in the duchy of Cleve : where they part ; and the King returns to Cologne.

His way of
life there.

essions of respect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and he, being well refreshed with the diversifements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet; which he employed in reading and studying both the Italian and French languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, (for, as is said before, he had no coach, nor would suffer his sister to leave him one), and sometimes rid into the fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The Nuncio of the Pope resided in that city, and performed all respects to his Majesty: he was a proper and grave man, an Italian bishop, who never made the least scruple at his Majesty's enjoying the liberty of his chapel, and the exercise of his religion, though it was very public; so that in truth his Majesty was not without any respect that could be shewed to him in those parts, save that the Elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that city; though it proceeded as much from the fullness and moroseness of his nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other prince, or gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the Elector Palatine, so nearly allied
to

to the Crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being so near him, or to send a messenger to salute him.

Within a short time after his Majesty's return to Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From Paris, his Majesty heard, that the Queen had put away the tutor he had left to attend his brother the Duke of Gloucester; who remained at Paris, upon her Majesty's desire, that he might learn his exercises. The Queen had conferred with him upon "the
 "desperateness of his condition, in respect of the King
 "his brother's fortune, and the little hope that appeared
 "that his Majesty could ever be restored, at least if he
 "did not himself become Roman Catholic; whereby
 "the Pope, and other Princes of that religion, might be
 "united in his quarrel; which they would never under-
 "take upon any other obligation: that it was therefore
 "fit that the Duke, who had nothing to support him,
 "nor could expect any thing from the King, should
 "be instructed in the Roman Catholic religion; that
 "so, becoming a good Catholic, he might be capable
 "of those advantages which her Majesty should be able
 "to procure for him: that the Queen of France would
 "hereupon confer abbeyes and benefices upon him, to
 "such a value, as would maintain him in that splendour
 "as was suitable to his birth: that, in a little time, the
 "Pope would make him a Cardinal; by which he might
 "be able to do the King his brother much service, and
 "contribute to his recovery; whereas, without this, he
 "must be exposed to great necessity and misery, for
 "that she was not able any longer to give him main-
 "tenance." She found the Duke more resolute than

An account
 of the en-
 deavours at
 Paris to
 pervert the
 Duke of
 Gloucester
 in his reli-
 gion.

she expected from his age ; he was so well instructed in his religion, that he disputed against the change ; urged the precepts he had received from the King his father, and his dying in the faith he had prescribed to him ; put her Majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the King his brother at parting ; and acknowledged, “ that he had obliged himself to his Majesty, that he “ would never change his religion ; and therefore be- “ sought her Majesty, that she would not farther press “ him, at least till he should inform the King of it.” The Queen well enough knew the King’s mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that affair without imparting it to him ; and therefore took upon her the authority of a mother, and removed his tutor from him ; and committed the Duke to the care of Abbot Mountague her Almoner ; who, having the pleasant abbey of Pontoise, entertained his Highness there, sequestered from all resort of such persons as might convert him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the King received this advertisement, which both the Duke and his tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his religion ; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in England, and especially of those of the reformed religion abroad, that his Majesty was in truth a Papist : and his leaving his brother behind him in France, where it was evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an argument, that he did not desire to prevent it :

it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in France, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the Marquis of Ormond with all possible expedition into France; who, The King sends the Marquis of Ormond into France for him. he very well knew, would steadily execute his commands. He writ a letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her "to discontinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his brother the Duke of Gloucester to repair with the Marquis of Ormond to his presence." He commanded the Duke "not to consent to any propositions which should be made to him for the change of his religion; and that he should follow the advice of the Marquis of Ormond, and accompany him to Cologne." And he directed the Marquis of Ormond, "to let Mr. Mountague, and whosoever of the English should join with him, know, that they should expect such a resentment from his Majesty, if they did not comply with his commands, as should be suitable to his honour, and to the affront they put upon him."

The Marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the King made with her, and imputed all the King's sharpness and resolution to the counsel he received from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both against the King's and his own will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's letter, declared, "that he would obey his Majesty;" and the Abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance

ance with the King, if he persisted in advising the Queen not to comply with his Majesty's directions : so that, after two or three days' deliberation, the Queen expressing very much displeasure at the King's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a mother, told the Marquis, " that the Duke might dispose of himself as he pleased ; " and that she would not concern herself farther, nor see " him any more." And thereupon the Duke put himself into the hands of the Marquis ; who immediately removed him from Pontoise to the house of the Lord Hatton, an English lord, who lived then in Paris ; where he remained for some days, until the Marquis could borrow money (which was no easy matter) to defray the journey to the King. And then they quickly left Paris ; and shortly after came to the King ; who was extremely satisfied with the Marquis's negociation and success ; and kept his brother always with him, till the time that he returned into England, the Queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

The Marquis brings the Duke to Cologne.

Innocent the tenth was now dead ; who had outlived the understanding and judgment he had been formerly master of, and lost all the reputation he had formerly gotten ; and, as Jehoram, *departed without being desired*. He had fomented the rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland ; whither he had sent a light-headed Nuncio, who did much mischief to his Majesty's service, as hath been touched before. The world was in great expectation who should succeed him, when,

The Duke of Newburgh sends the King word, that Cardinal Chigi was chosen

one day, the Duke of Newburgh sent a gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal Chigi was chosen Pope ; " of which," the Duke said, " his Majesty had great cause to be glad ; " which the King understood not. But, the next day, the Duke himself

himself came to the King, and told him, "that he came Pope; and
 "to congratulate with his Majesty for the election of ^{his dis-}
 "the new Pope, who called himself Alexander the se- ^{course with}
 "venth; and who, he said, he was confident, would do ^{his Majesty}
 "him great service;" and thereupon related a discourse ^{concerning}
 that had passed between him and the new Pope, when he ^{making}
 was Nuncio at Cologne, some years before: when they ^{some appli-}
 two conferring together ("as," he said, "there was great ^{cation to}
 "confidence and friendship between them") of the re- ^{the Pope for}
 bellion in England, and of the execrable murder of the ^{supply and}
 late King, the Nuncio broke out into great passion, ^{assistance.}
 even with tears, and said, "it was a monstrous thing
 "that the two Crowns should weary and spend each
 "other's strength and spirits in so unjust and ground-
 "less a war, when they had so noble an occasion to
 "unite their power to revenge that impious murder, in
 "which the honour and the lives of all kings were
 "concerned; and, he said, the Pope was concerned
 "never to let either of them to be quiet, till he had re-
 "conciled them, and obliged all Christian kings and
 "states, without consideration of any difference in reli-
 "gion, to join together for the restoration of the King;
 "which would be the greatest honour the Pope could
 "obtain in this world. All which," he said, "the
 "Nuncio spoke with so much warmth and concernment,
 "that he could not doubt, but that, now God had raised
 "him to that chair, he hoped, for that end, he would
 "remember his former opinion, and execute it himself;
 "being," he said, "a man of the most public heart, and
 "the most superior to all private designs, that the world
 "had:" the Duke taking great delight to remember
 many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a
 man, as he was generally believed to be for the first two
 years of his reign, till he manifested his affections with
 more

more ingenuity. The Duke desired his Majesty to consider, "whether there might not be somewhat he might reasonably wish from the Pope; and if it were not fit to be proposed as from his Majesty, he would be willing to promote it in his own name, having, he thought, some interest in his Holiness. And," he said, "he was resolved to send a person purposely to Rome with his congratulation, and to render his obedience to the Pope; and that he would instruct that person in whatsoever his Majesty should wish: and though he could not hope, that any greater matter would be done towards his Majesty's restoration, till the peace should be effected between the two Crowns, (which he knew the Pope would labour in till he had brought it to pass), yet he could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of his Holiness, his Majesty would receive some supply towards his better support; which, for the present, was all that could be expected: that the person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, who was at that present in Newburgh; but he had, or would send for him: that though he was a religious man, yet he was a person of that experience, temper, and wisdom, that he had entrusted him in affairs not only of the greatest secrecy, but in negotiations of the greatest importance; in which he had always behaved himself with singular prudence and judgment:" and he assured his Majesty "he was equal to any trust; and if, upon what he had said and offered, his Majesty thought he might be of use to him in his journey, he would send him to Cologne as soon as he came, that he might attend upon his Majesty, and receive any commands he would vouchsafe to lay upon him."

Though the King had in truth very little hope that
the

the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the maxim, with which Innocent had answered those who would have disposed him to supply the King with some money, "that he could not, with a good conscience, apply the patrimony of the Church to the assistance and support of heretics," would be as current divinity with Alexander, and all his successors, yet he could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness of the Duke of Newburgh, and could not conclude how far his interposition might prevail upon a temper and constitution so refined, and without those dregs which others had used to carry about them to that promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments which were due for the overtures, his Majesty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his wisdom, to do those offices with the new Pope as he thought fit, since he could expect nothing but upon that account; and that he would do any thing on his part which was fit for him to do, and which should be thought of moment to facilitate the other pretences." Whereupon the Duke told him, "that the bloody laws in England against the Roman Catholic religion made a very great noise in the world; and that his Majesty was generally understood to be a Prince of a tender and merciful nature, which would not take delight in the executing so much cruelty; and therefore he conceived it might be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, that when it should please God to restore his Majesty to his government, he would never suffer those laws to be executed, but would cause them to be repealed; which generous and pious resolution made known to the Pope, would work very much upon him, and dispose him to make an answerable return to his Majesty,"

“ jesty.” The King answered, “ that his Highness
“ might very safely undertake on his behalf, that if it
“ should be in his power, it should never be in his will,
“ to execute those severe laws: but that it was not in his
“ power absolutely to repeal them; and it would be
“ less in his power to do it, if he declared that he had a
“ purpose to do it: therefore, that must be left to
“ time; and it might reasonably be presumed, that he
“ would not be backward to do all of that kind which he
“ should find himself able to do; and the declaration
“ which he then made, his Majesty said, that he would
“ be ready to make to the person the Duke meant to
“ send, if he came to him:” which was acknowledged
to be as much as could be desired.

Germany is the part of the world, where the Jesuits
are looked upon to have the ascendant over all other
men in the deepest mysteries of state and policy, inso-
much as there is not a Prince’s court of the Roman
Catholic religion, wherein a man is held to be a good
courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a wise man,
who hath not a Jesuit to his confessor; which may be
one of the reasons, that the policy of that nation is so
different from, and so much undervalued by the other
politic parts of the world. And therefore it is the less
to be wondered at that this Duke, who had himself ex-
traordinary qualifications, retained that reverence for
those who had taught him when he was young, that he
believed them to grow, and to be improved as fast as
he, and so to be still abler to inform him. Without
doubt, he did believe his Jesuit to be a very wise man;
and, it may be, knew, that he would think so to whom
he was sent: and as soon as he came to him, he sent
him to the King to be instructed and informed of his
Majesty’s pleasure. The man had a very good aspect,
and

and less vanity and presumption than that society use to have, and seemed desirous to merit from the King by doing him service; but had not the same confidence he should do it, as his master had. And when he returned from Rome, he brought nothing with him from the Pope but general good wishes for the King's restoration, and sharp complaints against Cardinal Mazarine for being deaf to all overtures of peace; and that till then all attempts to serve his Majesty would be vain and ineffectual: and concerning any supply of money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had used the same adage that his predecessor had done; and so that intrigue was determined.

The effect
of this.

The rest and quiet that the King proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his friends in England; who, notwithstanding all his Majesty's commands, and injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to his service, were so pricked and stung by the insolence of their enemies, and the uneasiness of their own condition and fortune, that they could not rest. They sent expresses every day to Cologne for more commissions and instructions, and made an erroneous judgment of their own strength and power, by concluding that all who hated the present government would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the King, "that they had made sufficient provision of arms and ammunition, and had so many persons engaged to appear upon any day that should be assigned, that they only desired his Majesty would appoint that day; and that they were so united, that even the discovery before the day, and

An insurrection designed in England by some of the King's party.

" the

“the clapping up many persons in prison, which they expected, should not break the design.” The King doubted they would be deceived; and that, though the persons who sent those expressess were very honest men, and had served well in the war, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them; for, as many of his party were too restless and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the King’s part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his Majesty, and those he assigned to that office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of wit, as much as want of honesty; and so men were cast into prison, and kept there, upon general jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the King; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate were by the others reproached with being less affectionate, and to want loyalty as much as courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same account, were oppressed and torn in pieces by one and the same enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted

tracted a greater animosity between themselves, than against their common adversary: nor could the King reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the messengers who were sent were addressed only to the King himself, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no notice was taken or advertisement sent by the many spies, who were suborned to give intelligence of any one express that was sent to Cologne, yet they had commonly some friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a man who liked not the most extravagant undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his Majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The messengers, which Propositions to the King to this purpose from England. were sent this winter to Cologne, (who, I say still, were honest men, and sent from those who were such), proposed to the King, as they had formerly done, "that when they
 " were in arms, and had provided a place where his Majesty might land safely, he would then be with them,
 " that there might be no dispute upon command:" and in the spring they sent to him, "that the day was appointed,
 " the eighteenth of April, when the rising would be general, and many places seized upon, and some declare
 " for the King, which were in the hands of the army:" for they still pretended, and did believe, "that a part of
 " the army would declare against Cromwell at least,
 " though not for the King: that Kent was united to a
 " man; Dover-castle would be possessed, and the whole
 " county

“ county in arms upon that day ; and therefore, that
“ his Majesty would vouchsafe to be in some place, con-
“ cealed, upon the sea-coast, which it was very easy for
“ him to be on that day ; from whence, upon all being
“ made good that was undertaken, and full notice given
“ to his Majesty that it was so, he might then, and not
“ before, transport himself to that part which he thought
“ to be in the best posture to receive him, and might
“ give such other directions to the rest as he found ne-
“ cessary :” and even all these particulars were commu-
nicated in confidence by the messengers to their friends
who were near the King, and who again thought it but
reasonable to raise the spirits of their friends, by letting
them know in how happy a condition the King’s affairs
were in England ; and “ that his friends were in so good
“ a posture throughout the kingdom, that they feared
“ not that any discovery might be made to Cromwell,
“ being ready to own and justify their counsels with
“ their swords :” so that all this quickly became more
than whispered throughout the Court ; and, “ that the
“ King was only expected to be nearer England, how
“ disguised soever, that he might quickly put himself
“ into the head of the army that would be ready to re-
“ ceive him, whereby all emulations about command
“ might be prevented, or immediately taken away ; and
“ if his Majesty should now neglect this opportunity,
“ it might easily be concluded, that either he was be-
“ trayed, or that his counsels were conducted by men of
“ very shallow capacities and understanding.”

How weakly and improbably soever these preparations
were adjusted, the day was positively appointed, and was
so near, at the time when his Majesty had notice of it,
that it was not possible for him to send orders to contra-
dict it : and he foresaw, that if any thing should be at-
tempted

tempted without success, it would be imputed to his not being at a distance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majesty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cause, or retire back to Cologne, if there were nothing to do; and all this with so little noise, that his absence should scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the messenger returned with the King's approbation of the day, and direction, "that, as soon as the day should be past, an express should be directed to Flushing at the sign of the city of Rouen," (a known inn in that town,) "to enquire for an Englishman," (whose name was given him,) "who should be able to inform him, whither he should repair to speak with the King."

The King
approves of
the day of
rising.

Before the messenger's departure, or the King's resolution was taken, the Earl of Rochester, who was always jealous that somebody would be General before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in arms, desired the King, "that he would permit him to go over in disguise, to the end, that getting to London, which was very easy, he might, upon advising with the principal persons engaged, of whom there was none who had not been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in command, assist them in their enterprise, and make the best of that force which they could bring together: and if he found that they were not in truth competently provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by his advice and authority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all inconsiderate attempts; and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back again to his Majesty."

With this errand the Earl left Cologne, under pre-

The Earl of Rochefter obtains leave of the King to go into England in order thereunto.

tence of pursuing his business with the German Princes, upon the donative of the Diet; for which he used to make many journeys; and nobody suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into Flanders, he was not at all reserved; but in the hours of good fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any body he did believe would keep him company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding Sir Joseph Wagstaff, who had served the King in the last war very honestly, and was then watching at the sea-coast to take the first opportunity to transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general insurrection, (which all letters to all places mentioned as a matter resolved on), Rochester frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a bark at Dunkirk; and, without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at London: but many of those who should have been in arms were seized upon, and secured in several prisons.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff goes with him.

The King goes from Cologne to Zealand.

The messenger being dispatched, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left Cologne very early in the morning, attended only by the Marquis of Ormond, and one groom to look to their horses: nor was it known to any body, but to the Chancellor and the Secretary Nicholas, whether the King was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive people, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, Sir John Mennes, and John Nicholas, eldest son to the Secretary, were sent into Zealand, to stay there till they should receive farther orders; the former of them being the person designed to be at the sign of the Rouen in Flushing, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that should be found

found necessary, and to keep the cyphers; both of them persons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a gentleman who lived in Middleburg, and of one of the best families and the best fortune there, who had married an English lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of Bohemia, and was the daughter of a gentleman of a very noble family, who had been long an officer in Holland. The King had made this Dutchman a baronet; and some, who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Majesty might secretly repose himself in his house, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his Majesty being first assured of this, made his journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that house, he gave present notice to Sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his Majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the messenger who had been " dispatched from Cologne, met with cross winds and " accidents in his return, which had been his misfortune likewise in his journey thither; so that he came " not so soon to London as was expected; whereupon " some conceived that the King did not approve the " day, and therefore excused themselves from appearing at the time; others were well content with the " excuse, having discerned, with the approach of the " day, that they had embarked themselves in a design " of more difficulty than was at first apprehended; and " some were actually seized upon, and imprisoned, by " which they were incapable of performing their promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the King in his former belief, that nothing solid could result

sult from such a general combination ; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a post where he might securely rest, to expect what the Earl of Rochester's presence, of whose being in London he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to order, was come to Breda ; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the King.

There cannot be a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men, and that such signal and notable persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended ; there being nobody intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose trade it was for great wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of Rochester consulted with great freedom in London with the King's friends ; and found that the persons imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do ; and that the same spirit still possessed those who were at liberty. The design in Kent appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin upon ; but he was persuaded, (and he was very credulous), that in the North there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of York ; nor had the army many troops in those parts. In the West likewise there appeared to be a strong combination, in which many gentlemen were engaged, whose
agents

agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that Sir Joseph Wagstaff might be authorized to be in the head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The Earl of Rochester liked the countenance of the North better; and sent Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gentleman, and nobly allied in those parts, to prepare the party there; and appointed a day and place for the rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that Sir Joseph Wagstaff should go into the West; who, upon conference with those of that country, likewise appointed their rendezvous upon a fixed day, to be within two miles of Salisbury. It was an argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the judges were to keep their assizes in that city, and where the sheriff and principal gentlemen of the county were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the Earl of Rochester, who knew where the King was, took care to advertise his Majesty; who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a short time after they were so improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secrecy transport himself into England; for which he did expect a sudden occasion.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff had been formerly Major General of the foot in the King's western army, a man generally beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counsel, a stout man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableness in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with those, who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed,

The Earl of Rochester designs for the North; and Wagstaff into the West;

The rising
at Salisbury.

pointed, left London, and went to some of his friends' houses in the country, near the place, that he might assist the preparations as much as was possible. Those of Hampshire were not so punctual at their own rendezvous, as to be present at that near Salisbury at the hour; however, Wagstaff, and they of Wiltshire, appeared according to expectation. Penruddock, a gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, Hugh Grove, Jones, and other persons of condition, were there with a body of near two hundred horse well armed, which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the western association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit Salisbury in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their numbers both in foot and horse; with which the town then abounded: nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the city about five of the clock in the morning: they appointed some officers, of which they had plenty, to cause all the stables to be locked up, that all the horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the gaols, that all there might attend their benefactors. They kept a good body of horse upon the market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the judges and the sheriff, who were yet in their beds, and to bring them into the market-place with their several commissions, not caring to seize upon the persons of any others.

All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the town had been all of one mind. They who were within

within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done ; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their countenance. When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the King to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged, (who were half dead already), having well considered, with the policy which men in such actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, choosing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his friends, whereby their scrupulous consciences might have been confirmed, many of the country gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it ; and poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major General durst not persist in it ; but was prevailed with to dismiss the judges, and, having taken their commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the sheriff ; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the King ; which being otherwise done, they likewise prevailed with him rather to keep the sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honest man out of the hands of their enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the commands of their General ; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their commander in chief ; and as it

would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their swords.

The noise of this action was very great both in and out of the kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness, it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the army; which was known to be so great, that it was thought Cromwell durst not draw the whole army to a general rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a body brought together as might oblige Cromwell to make the army, or a considerable part of it, to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his authority, which they abhorred. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remained with that party at Salisbury for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their numbers would have much increased, and their friends farther west must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the army's marching against them. Cromwell himself was alarmed; he knew well the distemper of the kingdom, and in his army, and now when he saw such a body gathered together without any noise, that durst in the middle of the kingdom enter into one of the chief cities of it, when his judges and all the civil power
of

of that county was in it, and take them prisoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full peace, and when no man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprize could be undertaken without a universal conspiracy ; in which his own army could not be innocent ; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The unfortunate issue of it.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first action ; and were in such disorder and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their friends out of Hampshire, (who were, to the number of two or three hundred horse, upon their way, and would have been at Salisbury that night), upon pretence that they were expected in Dorsetshire, they left the town, and took the sheriff with them, about two of the clock in the afternoon : but were so weary of their day's labour, and their watching the night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the sheriff ; whom many desired to be presently released ; and that party carried it in hope of receiving good offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march westward. They from Hampshire, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving Salisbury, would not follow, but scattered themselves ; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left Wiltshire, likewise dispersed : so that after they had continued their journey into Devonshire, without meeting any who would join with them, horse and men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single troop

troop of horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an officer of no credit in the war, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather entreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those Wagstaff, quitted their horses, and found shelter in some honest men's houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to transport them into the parts beyond the seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and most of the rest, were taken prisoners, upon promise given by the officer that their lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no authority to make good. For Cromwell no sooner heard of his cheap victory, than he sent judges away with a new commission of Oyer and Terminer, and order to proceed with the utmost severity against the offenders. But Roles, his chief justice, who had so luckily escaped at Salisbury, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those men in the face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of law, whether the men could be legally condemned; upon which Cromwell, shortly after, turned him out of his office, having found others who executed his commands. Penruddock and Grove lost their heads at Exeter; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they rendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their duty and loyalty to the King: many were sent to Salisbury, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were fathers, and sons, and brothers, that the butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent slaves to the Bar-

Barbadoes ; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the West ; and Cromwell secured without the help of his army ; which he saw, by the countenance it then shewed when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform ; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay.

The design of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of Rochester, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and looked upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his journey from London, with a friend or two, into Yorkshire at the time appointed ; and found such an appearance of gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserved his patience. There had been some mistake in the notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a rendezvous, he should be well attended. Marmaduke Darcy had spent his time very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having houses, where he might be well concealed, and the country generally wished well to the King, and to those who concerned themselves in his affairs. But he took many exceptions ; complained, as if they had deceived him ; and asked many questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnished reasons against entering upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they seemed to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard

The ill success like-
wise of the
design in
the North.

heard of the ill success at Salisbury; yet he did not think the force which the gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: so he resolved to stay no longer; the gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good will to

The Earl of
Rochester
returns to
London;
whence he
advises the
King of the
ill success.

each other, the Earl returning through by-roads to London, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopelessness of affairs. If he had not been a man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into conferences with any strangers he met, or joined with.

An accident
that befell
him in his
return.

When he returned from the North, he lodged at Aylesbury; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the town, of which he seemed to take some survey, and had asked many questions of a country fellow who was there, (that ground in truth belonging to his own wife), the next justice of peace had notice of it; who being a man devoted to the government, and all that country very ill affected always to the King, and the news of Salisbury, and the proclamation thereupon, having put all men upon their guard, came himself to the inn where the Earl was; and being informed, that there were only two gentlemen above at supper, (for Sir Nicholas Armorer was likewise with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that journey), he went into the stable; and upon view of the horses found they were the same which had been observed in the ground. The justice commanded the keeper of the inn, one Gilvy, who, besides that he was a person

person notoriously affected to the government, was likewise an officer, "that he should not suffer those horses, nor the persons to whom they belonged, to go out of the house, till he, the said justice, came thither in the morning; when he would examine the gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came." The Earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the master of the house, and nobody being present but his companion, he told him, "he would put his life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: that he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good will of many friends, who might be able to do him good." Then he told him who he was; and, as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a man of a very good understanding, and might consider the changes which followed after, and in which this service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their escape: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the justice for their horses; yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty servant in another stable; who, about midnight, conducted them into London-way; which put them in safety. The inn-keeper was visited in the morning by the justice; whom he carried into the stable, where the horses still stood, he having still kept the key in his own pocket, not making any doubt of the persons whilst he kept

kept their horses; but the inn-keeper confessed they were escaped out of his house in the night, how or whither he could not imagine. The justice threatened loud; but the inn-keeper was of that unquestionable fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth, that Cromwell more suspected the connivance of the justice, (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the persons till the morning), than the integrity of a man so well known as the inn-keeper was. The Earl remained in London whilst the enquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for Flanders; and so returned to Cologne.

The King
leaves Zea-
land; and
returns to
Cologne.

As soon as the King received advertisement of the ill successes in England, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left Zealand, and returning by Breda, stayed in a dorp near the town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then returned with all speed to Cologne; where his little Court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His Majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest gentlemen in England, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his Majesty's judgment: and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his friends from thence advertised, "that all his counsels were discovered; and "that Cromwell had perfect intelligence of whatsoever "his Majesty resolved to do, and of all he said himself; "so that it would not be safe for any body to correspond "with him, or to meddle in his affairs or concernments: "that his coming into Zealand, and his continuance "there, was known to Cromwell, with all the particulars "of his motion; that many persons of condition were
" seized

“ seized upon, and imprisoned for having a design to possess themselves of some towns, and places of strength ; which intelligence could not be given but from Cologne ;” implying, “ that the miscarriage in all the last designs proceeded wholly from the treason of some persons near his Majesty.” The King did not at all wonder that Cromwell, and his instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was resolved or thought of at Cologne ; but that any men who were really devoted to his service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his Majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

Whilst he was in this agony, and immediately after his return to Cologne, a discovery was made of a villainy, The discovery of the treachery of Manning ; and a particular account of it. that made him excuse his friends in England for their jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an imposture of such a nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one Manning, a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman Catholic in the family of the Marquis of Worcester, whose page he had been. His father, of that religion likewise, had been a colonel in the King’s army ; and was slain at the battle of Alresford ; where this young man, being then a youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left arm and shoulder. This gentleman came to Cologne shortly after the King came thither first, and pretended, “ that he had sold the incumbered fortune his father had left him ; upon which, he had enough to maintain him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the King, till his Majesty should be able to raise an army ; in which he hoped to have an opportunity to revenge his father’s blood ;” with many discourses of that nature ; and he brought a letter to Dr. Earles from his

his uncle Manning, who was well known to him, to commend his nephew to his conversation. He was a handsome man, had store of good clothes, and plenty of money ; which, with the memory of his father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the company that was there. He knew most of the King's party in England, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them ; and had every week the Diurnal, and the news of London, which seldom else came so far as Cologne. He associated himself most with the good-fellows, and eat in their company, being well provided for the expence. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the Earl of Rochester, and told him, " that all the King's party looked upon him
" as the general who must govern and command them ;
" for which they were very impatient : that he himself
" would be ready to run his fortune, and attend him
" into England ; and that he had two hundred good
" men listed, who would appear well mounted and
" armed, whenever he should require them ; and that he
" knew where good sums of money lay ready to be applied to that service." The Earl was ravished with this discourse, and looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to advance his designs ; and asked him, " whether he had been with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and communicated all this to him ?" He said, " he had, at his first coming to town, waited upon the
" Chancellor ; and intended to have spoken of this, and
" much more than he had yet spoken, if he had been
" vacant, or willing to hear : but he seemed to him too
" reserved ; which he imputed then to some business
" that possessed him, and therefore made him a second
" visit ; when he found him with the same wariness, and
" without a desire to be informed by him concerning
" the

“ the affairs of that kingdom ; so that he resolved to
“ visit him no more.”

In the end, he told the Earl, “ that he would impart
“ a secret to him of the last importance, and which he
“ had not yet had opportunity to inform the King of,
“ and, he did believe, it would be the same thing to
“ impart it to his lordship as to his Majesty himself :
“ the sum was, that he was trusted by the young Earl
“ of Pembroke, whose affections were entire for his
“ Majesty, to assure the King of the same ; and that
“ though it would not be safe for him to appear in the
“ head and beginning of an insurrection, he would ad-
“ vance it as much as if he were there in person ; and
“ because he knew the West was better prepared to be-
“ gin the work than any other part of the kingdom, he
“ had caused three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and
“ kept ready at Wilton, which should be delivered to
“ any man, who, in the King’s name, should require it
“ of such a man,” (naming a person, who was known to
be much trusted by that Earl,) “ upon delivery of a
“ private token he produced out of his pocket,” (which
was a clean piece of paper, sealed with three impressions
of an antique head in hard wax,) “ which,” he said,
“ the Earl required him to present to the King when
“ he thought it might be seasonable.” He added,
“ that he would be glad to be himself in that first en-
“ gagement, and so to be present when that token
“ should be delivered ; yet he considered, that he was
“ not enough known to have such a secret imparted to
“ him, as the time of such an action ought to be ; and
“ therefore, if it pleased the King, he would presently
“ deliver that token into his lordship’s hands ; who, he
“ was confident, would be the first that would have op-
“ portunity to employ it.”

The Earl had the journey then in his head, which he made shortly after ; and thought such a treasure as this would much advance the service. He made haste to inform the King of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the token. To that purpose, he brought the man to the King ; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his Majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He made a large relation to the King of what the Earl of Pembroke had commanded him to say, and presented the token to his Majesty for the three thousand pounds ; the manner of his discourse being such, as the King had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. As soon as he left the King, the Earl brought him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of courtesy to him before ; which he wondered at ; for it was very true that Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his father, and most of his family, and was glad to see him frequently at prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholic ; and the young man had seemed much pleased with the reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that relation concerning the Earl of Pembroke, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always suspected him ; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him ; which the other complained heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproached for not treating a person of so much merit, who had lost his father, and been himself maimed in the King's service, with more openness ; for he did always use him with all necessary

cessary civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of Pembroke, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time master of much money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a person who was most trusted by the Earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the Chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the King, "that he doubted Manning had made that part of the story to make himself the more welcome;" which his Majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of that story, nor the least apprehension that he was a spy.

When it was publicly known that the King was absent from Cologne, at that time that he made his journey to Zealand, in the manner that is mentioned before, the Earl of Rochester being departed from thence some time before, Mr. Manning appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, "that he being entrusted by all the King's friends, who would not credit any orders but such as should pass through his hands, the King was now gone without imparting it to him; which would be the ruin of his design." He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himself, "that there should be any sword drawn in England before his; his father's blood boiled within him, and kept him from sleep." He desired him therefore, "that he would so far communicate the design to him, that he might only know to what part of England to transport himself, that he might be in action as soon as might be possible." He could draw nothing from

the Chancellor ; who told him, “ that he knew of no probability of any action ; and therefore could give “ no advice.” Upon which he complained much of the Chancellor’s want of kindness to him : but he lost no time in following the King ; and having great acquaintance with Herbert Price, a man much trusted by the Earl of Rochester, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know, the greatest secrets, he prevailed with him, upon bearing his charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at least that they might be ready on the sea-coast, to transport themselves into England upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of Rochester had made any mention of Zealand to Mr. Price, thither they both came ; and seeing Sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas there, they believed there might likewise be others of their Cologne friends. Herbert Price, as he was a man of a very inquisitive nature, watched so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an evening, when he used to walk to take a little air after the day’s confinement. The King, since he was discovered, thought it best to trust him ; and charged him “ not only to make no discovery, but to remove “ out of the island, lest his being seen there, might raise “ suspicion in other men.” He did very importunately desire the King that he might bring Manning to speak with him, as not only an honest man, (as no doubt he thought him to be), but a man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present service. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he see him ; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Majesty concluded that Cromwell came to be informed of his being in Zealand, without any reproach to Mr. Price’s fidelity ; which was not suspected, though his
pre-

presumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the King's return to Cologne, Manning likewise came thither with his accustomed confidence. And in this time the Chancellor received advertisement from England, "that he had no kind of trust from the Earl of Pembroke, but, on the contrary, had been turned out of his service upon matter of dishonesty ; and that he was a loose person, of no reputation:" and his Majesty was informed by others from Antwerp, "that every post brought many letters for him, which were taken up there, and transmitted to Cologne ; and that he had letters of credit upon a merchant of Antwerp for good sums of money." All this raised a suspicion in the King ; who gave direction to a trusty person, who was purposely sent to take up all those letters at Antwerp, which were sent thither from England for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from Cologne by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means the party returned with many great packets both from and to him ; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There were letters from Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary and principal minister, containing the satisfaction the Protector received in the particular intelligence he received from him, with short instructions how he should behave himself. The person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him Manning's letters of three posts, all full of the most particular things done at Cologne ; and the particular words said by the King, and others, that must needs affect those who should receive the intelligence ; but of all which there was nothing

true ; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

In one letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, “ that by the next he should send such advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above what he had given from Zealand, “ and by which they might see, that there was nothing so secret at Cologne, of which he could not be informed, if he had money enough ; ” and therefore desired the bill for the thousand crowns might be dispatched. Together with this, the letter of the subsequent post was likewise seized upon ; and by his method, which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was inclosed an overture or design for the surprise and taking of Plymouth ; in which there was a very exact and true description of the town, and fort, and island, and the present strength and force that was there. Then a proposition, that a vessel with five hundred men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place, (a creek described,) and, upon a sign then given, such a place in the town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the fort and the island. The names of the persons who undertook to do both the one and the other, were likewise set down ; and they were all men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the assistance of that five hundred men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that Sir Hugh Pollard, and other persons named, who were all notable men for their zeal to the King’s service,

service, should be ready from the Devonshire side, as Colonel Arundel and others from Cornwall, to second and support what was to be done.

The letter informed, "that when the King delivered "that paper to the Council," (which, he said, "he had "received from a very good hand;" and then the Marquis of Ormond made this and this objection, and others found this and that difficulty in the execution of the enterprize, all which the Chancellor answered very clearly, and the King himself said very much of the easiness of the undertaking,) "there was one difficulty "urged, that the King himself appeared to be startled "at, and looked upon the Chancellor; who arose from "his place, and went to the King's chair, and whispered "somewhat in his ear. Whereupon his Majesty told "the Lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that "the Chancellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should refer the care of it to him, who "would take it upon him, and so the matter was resolved, and the Earl of Rochester undertook for the "five hundred men, and their transportation." Manning concluded, "that if he had money, they should "know constantly how this design should be advanced, "or any other set on foot." Every body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his letter many vain insinuations of his interest, as if he were never out of the King's company. Two of the King's servants were sent to seize upon his person and his papers; who found him in his chamber writing, and his cypher and papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several letters prepared, and made up

with the dates proper for many posts to come, with information and intelligence of the same nature as the former.

The Secretary of State and one of the Lords of the Council were sent to examine him ; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, “ that the necessity of his “ fortune had exposed him to that base condition of “ life ; and, to make himself fit for it, he had dissimulated his religion ; for, he said, he remained still a Catholic : that he was sent over by Thurlow to be a spy “ wherever the King should be, and had constantly sent “ him intelligence, for which he had received good sums “ of money ; yet, that he had been so troubled in mind “ for the vileness of the life he led, that he was resolved, “ by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good “ sum of money from them ; and then to renounce farther correspondence, and to procure the King’s pardon, and faithfully to serve him.” Being asked, why he made such relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, “ that if he had come to the knowledge of “ any thing which in truth had concerned the King, he “ would never have discovered it ; but he thought it “ would do no prejudice to the King, if he got money “ from the rebels by sending them lies, which could neither do them good, nor hurt his Majesty ; and therefore all his care was to amuse them with particulars, “ which he knew would please them ; and so when he “ was alone he always prepared letters containing such “ things as occurred to his invention, to be sent by the “ succeeding posts, and that he had never written any “ thing that was true, but of his Majesty’s being in “ Zealand ; which, he believed, could produce no prejudice to him.”

The King now discerned from whence all the apprehensions

henfions of his friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their jealousies; for though none of his counfels had been difcovered, they who had received thofe letters might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their confidents of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, fuch particulars were tranfmitted to the King's friends, as could not but very much amufe them, and, no doubt, was the caufe of the commitment of very many perfons, and of fome who had no purpofe to fuffer for their loyalty. His Majefty took care to publifh the tranfactions of this man, with the method of the intelligence he gave; by which his friends difcerned with what fhadows they had been affrighted, and his enemies likewise difcovered what current ware they had received for their money: yet they endeavoured to have it believed that he was not a man fent over by them, but a fecretary in great truft about fome perfon employed, whom they had corrupted: in which men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the wretch foon after received the reward due to his treafon.

As the King's hopes were much eclipsed in England by the late unfeafonable attempt, and the lofs of fo many gallant perfons, as perifhed, or were undone in it; fo Cromwell advanced his own credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirmed with thofe who were of doubtful faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devifing plots himfelf, that the Commonwealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excufe to continue fo vaft forces ftill in pay. Whereas it now appeared how active and confident the King's party ftill was, and that they would not have had the

Cromwell's
advantage
by the rif-
ings of the
King's par-
ty.

the presumption to make so bold an attempt in the middle of the kingdom, if they had not had good assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The success and triumph of a few desperate persons at Salisbury, that had produced such a consternation throughout the kingdom, and would have endangered the security of the whole West, if there had not happened some accidental confusion amongst the undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet force sufficient to provide for the safety of the kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every county, that it might not be endangered by every bold attempt: and the charge that this necessary defence would cause should in justice be borne by those who were the occasion of the expence.

His order
for deci-
mating the
King's party.

Thereupon he made by his own authority, and that of his Council, an order, "that all those who had ever borne arms for the King, or had declared themselves to be of the royal party, should be decimated, that is, "pay a tenth part of all that estate which they had left, "to support the charge which the Commonwealth was "put to, by the unquietness of their temper, and the "just cause of jealousy which they had administered." And that the public might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, commissioners were appointed in every county, to value what that tenth part of every such estate did amount to; and that no man might have too good a bargain of his own, every man was obliged to pay as much as those commissioners judged fit; and till he paid it, besides imprisonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there was no consideration taken
of

of former compositions, of any articles of war, or of any acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great seal, without enquiry into their actions, or so much as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any correspondence with the King or any body trusted by him ; or that they were in any degree privy to the late designs or insurrection.

That this order might be submitted to, and executed, he published a declaration to make the justice as well as ^{His declaration to justify it.} the necessity of that proceeding appear ; in which he did not only set down the grounds of his present proceeding against the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed against any other party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had served the King, than had ever been before published. Great caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been designed than to unite the whole nation in the joint defence of the common interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all marks of disunion and distinction of parties, and that all men, of what condition soever, (except those who had been always excepted by name), who would submit to the government, should be admitted to have shares, and to act parts in the administration and defence of it. But now notice was taken of “ such an inherent malignity, “ and irreconcilableness in all those who from the beginning had adhered to the King, and opposed the “ proceedings of the Parliament, towards all those who “ had served their country, and vindicated the interest “ of the people and nation, that they declined the common rules of civility, and would have no conversation “ with them ; and, that the same malice and animosity “ might descend to their posterity, they would not make “ marriages,

“ marriages, or any friendship or alliance, with those who
“ had been separated, or divided from them in those
“ public differences ; and therefore they were not here-
“ after to wonder, or complain, if they were looked upon
“ as a common enemy, which must be kept from being
“ able to do mischief ; since they would always be will-
“ ing to do all they could ; and that they were not to
“ expect to be prosecuted, like other men, by the ordi-
“ nary forms of justice, and to have their crimes to be
“ proved by witnesses, before they should be concluded
“ to be guilty. If any desperate attempts were under-
“ taken by any of that party to disturb the public peace,
“ that it would be reasonable to conclude that they all
“ wished well to it, though they appeared not to own
“ it : that all conspiracies of that nature were acted in
“ secret, and were deeds of darkness, and men might
“ justly be suspected and proceeded against as privy to
“ them, by their common discourses, by the company
“ they usually kept, and by their very looks ;” with
many other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the
disquisition of justice, and legal proceedings, that the
King’s party might reasonably conclude, they had no-
thing left that they could call their own, but must ex-
pect a total extirpation, either by massacre, or trans-
plantation.

But then the declaration took notice likewise of “ the
“ factions in the army, that would not acquiesce in the
“ government established ; but would have another found
“ out, and formed according to their levelling humours ;
“ all which distractions, to what other ends soever di-
“ rected, must so weaken the Commonwealth, if not
“ wisely prevented, as it must in the end be exposed as
“ a prey to their inveterate enemies ; and therefore, that
“ the same remedies must be applied to them, as to the
“ others ;”

“ others;” with intimation clear enough, “ that the con-
 “ nivance they had formerly received, and even the par-
 “ dons that had been granted for their former mutinies
 “ and transgressions, were of no more validity than the
 “ articles, promises, and acts of indemnity, which had
 “ been granted to the royal party : all which were de-
 “ clared to be void and null, upon any succeeding delin-
 “ quency :” so that all discontented people who liked
 not the present government, what part soever they had
 acted in the pulling down the old, whether Presbyterian,
 Independent, or Leveller, were left to consider of the
 consequence of those maxims there laid down ; and
 might naturally conclude, that they were in no better
 condition of security for what they enjoyed, and had
 purchased dearly, than those who by their help were
 brought to the lowest misery ; though, for the present,
 none but the King’s party underwent that insupportable
 burden of decimation ; which brought a vast incredible
 sum of money into Cromwell’s coffers, the greater part
 whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though
 not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever
 would have given the King the least assistance, and were
 only reputed to be of his party because they had not as-
 sisted the rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any
 considerable proportion ; and had proposed to them-
 selves to sit still as neuters, and not to be at any charge
 with reference to either party ; or such who had shel-
 tered themselves in some of the King’s garrisons for their
 own conveniency.

This declaration was sent to Cologne; where the King The King
 caused an answer to be made to it upon the grounds that caused an
 were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who answer to be
 had been always of the Parliament side, and who was made to it.
 well pleased to see the Cavaliers reduced to that extre-
 mity ;

mity ; but with such reflections upon the tyranny that was exercised over the kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of trust the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself ; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next Parliament that he called ; which was not long after.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XV.

EZRA iii. 26.

*And I will make thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth;
that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a reprover;
for they are a rebellious house.*

HOS. x. 3.

*For now they shall say, We have no king, because we feared not
the Lord; what then shall a king do to us?*

HAB. i. 10.

*And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn
unto them.*

THE King remained at Cologne above two years, con-
tending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper
and magnanimity; whilst all the Princes of Europe
seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should
most eminently forget and neglect him; and whilst
Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those
nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blef-
sings they enjoyed under his Majesty's father's peacea-
ble

The King
stayed at
Cologne
above two
years.

The condi-
tion of Scot-
land under
Cromwell.

ble and mild government: so that, if the King's nature could have been delighted to behold the oppressions his rebellious subjects endured in all the three nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleasure of this kind in all of them: first, in seeing Scotland, which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquished and subdued by those whom they had taught the science of rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to destroy their own natural Prince, and dissolve the regal government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a nation: in seeing the pride and insolence of that people, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their King, suppressed, contemned, and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men who were very few of them born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of common men. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, Presbytery, which had pulled off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threatened their Princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this subjection supported at their own charge, their fierce governors being paid by them out of their own estates.

Of Ireland. He then beheld Ireland, that begun its rebellion with inhuman massacres, and butcheries of their peaceable
and

and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this foolish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries, which afterwards befell the King, and his dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury, that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the King, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural King murdered by his other rebels, for want of that assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, driving from them the governor and government of the King: I say, his Majesty saw now this miserable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the lowest desolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the

King, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his Majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices against the royal power, to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of foreign Princes, under whom they perished for want of bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery than the Irish were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

Of Eng-
land.

Lastly, England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and loyal party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exercised over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity, now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation

tion was become at the disposal of a single person ; and that those lords, without whose monstrous assistance the scepter could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people : in a word, that Cromwell was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him ; and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the King had of the three kingdoms during his residence at Cologne ; but with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompence, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of the people at home more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his refractory Parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea ; the one under Pen, consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there was likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of General Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire ; who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to command in this expedition.

Cromwell in the beginning of 1655 sent two great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, with a land army under Venables :

Both these superior officers were well affected to the

King's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in), send to the King, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his Majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet, and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time have set up the King's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. So he wished them to reserve their affections for his Majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, which probably might give his Majesty some friend.

The other
fleet under
Blake.

The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength, and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom Cromwell had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of them came to such a point; where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many months
after

after they were both at sea, nobody knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the Cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, "to give his friendship to that Crown that should best deserve it:" and, without doubt, both Crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept Don Alonzo de Cardinas in England, after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late King, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the Marquis of Leyda with a splendid train, as The Marquis of Leyda sent ambassador by Spain to Cromwell, who after a month returns to Flanders. extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the Catholic King. The Marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that King to the same apprehension and expectation.

The two fleets set out from the coast of England; The fleet under Blake goes into the Mediterranean. that under Blake, some months before the other; and made its course directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Algiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas.

That under
Pen to the
Barbadoes.

When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found, that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were overstocked with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the Barbadoes than they had reason to expect, having now found there two frigates, (which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters), and making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation), about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where, after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a prosperous wind, they came, about the middle of April, within view of Santo Domingo; which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

Thence to
Hispaniola.

Their or-
ders.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not

so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a council of war ; and it was there resolved that General Venables should land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was), and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed, at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them ; and join they did. But by the march which Venables had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, where they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse armed with long lances, and other arms, which they had not been accustomed to ; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them ; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main body ; upon sight whereof the Spaniard retired without any loss, having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place.

Venables
beaten by a
few Span-
iards.

place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay, and the fresh water river they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the General thought his men not only enough refreshed, but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort, which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion that the Negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole army; which, though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the bay with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their Major General was one.

He reim-
barks, and
makes a
descent
upon Ja-
maica;
where he
succeeds.

This fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the Negroes killing their men every day, as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbark themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica; where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of
three

three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard; who received exceeding damage from thence; they who were so easily frightened, and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other island, making afterwards frequent incursions, with small numbers, into it from Jamaica; sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

That fleet returns into England.

The other fleet under the command of Blake had better success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to submit to such conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that King returned a very rude answer; contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilst he sent out several long boats manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbours, and set fire to all the ships there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the men, returning safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

The fleet under Blake had better success: forces Algiers to a peace; enters the harbour of Tunis, and burns their fleet.

The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike.* He

was never so discomposed, (for he had usually a great command over his passions), as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again ; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica ; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished the men might be recalled ; but he would not hear of it ; and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work ; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

Cromwell commits Pen and Venables to the Tower.

Sends recruits to Jamaica.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent orders to Blake, “ that he should watch the return of the Plate-fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the coast of Spain ;” and gave directions to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done : what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the Cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent Lockhart his ambassador into France ; who was received with great solemnity ; and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the Cardinal. He finished there the alliance with France. Cromwell undertook “ to send over an army of six thousand foot, to be commanded by their own superior officer, who was to receive orders only from “ Marshal Turenne :” and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell’s hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

Lockhart sent by him ambassador into France, who finishes an alliance there, begun before by the agents of France in England.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from
England,

England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with him; and Don Alonzo remained still in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the Exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into Flanders to increase the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The Prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour were the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the Archduke, and with the inactivity and wariness of the Conte of Fuenfaldagna; who he thought omitted many opportunities.

Don Alonzo sent to by Cromwell to leave England.

The Archduke was weary of the title of Governor of the Low Countries and General of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuenfaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismissal, and Fuenfaldagna himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the Prince of Condé; which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the Archduke, was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcilableness with the Archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority
of

of the King, to dismiss the Count of Swaffenburgh ; whom he loved of all the world ; so that he was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from Madrid.

Don Juan of Austria made Governor of Flanders : and Carracena appointed to command the army under him.

The Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Archduke and the Conde ; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in Germany, and to bring Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the King of Spain, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the King of Spain thought fit ; and at the same time, that the Conde of Fuensaldagna should immediately enter upon the government of Milan ; which had been exercised for the last six years by the Marquis of Carracena ; who was now to govern the army in Flanders under Don Juan ; and that the Marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority, as could not but breed ill blood in Don Juan ; as it fell out afterwards. This counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to enter Flanders with two powerful armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no command.

The King had sent to the Archduke to offer his conjunction before the Archduke left Flanders.

The King was yet at Cologne ; and no sooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him ; at least, that their fears were over of offending Cromwell. He therefore sent privately to the Archduke, and to Fuensaldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonzo was likewise there ; and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he still held, made his judgment

ment in those affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disoblged both the late and the present King, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the King's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his Majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the King should authorize to treat with them; which when the King knew, he re-

The King came into Flanders, and treats with the Archduke near Brussels.

solved to go to them himself; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three servants; and when he came near Brussels, sent to advertise the Archduke at what distance he was; and "that he would see him *inoognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit."

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the King was come in person; and desired, that he would by no means come to Brussels; but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Brussels; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the Conde of Fuensaldagna and Don Alonzo came to his Majesty; and the Archduke met him privately at another place. The King quickly discovered that Don Alonzo had a private intrigue with some officers of the English army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than the King's, and offered it as great merit to his Majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correspondence between

Don

Don Alonzo and those Levellers, was managed by an Irish Jesuit, who, by speaking Spanish, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King pressed them "that he might remove his family to Brussels, or
"to some place in Flanders, that it might be notorious
"that he was in alliance with his Catholic Majesty;
"and then they should quickly see he had another kind
"of interest in England, than what those men pre-
"tended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; and
"they would quickly find, if his Majesty resided in that
"country, his influence upon the Irish who were in
"France."

They would by no means consent that his Majesty should remain in Brussels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the State to be there, "which," they said, "the King of Spain's honour
"would not permit, without shewing those respects to
"him that he might live in that grandeur as became a
"great King; which the present state of their affairs
"would not permit them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his Majesty would choose to
"remove his family to Bruges, and remain there with
"them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any public ex-
"pensive reception, they were sure he would find all re-
"spect from the inhabitants of that city." The King desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of Don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the King of Spain's part undertaken but "that whenever the King could cause a good
"port town in England to declare for him, his Catholic
"Majesty would assist him with a body of six thousand
"foot, and with such a proportion of ammunition, and
"so

“so many ships to transport that body thither;” which was the proposition the Levellers had made; and Don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The King discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in those provinces, which remained under Spain, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the King of Spain; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, to expect other alterations. So his Majesty readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by Don Alonzo; and signed it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days’ stay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed and signed by the King, the Archduke, and Don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657; the dispatch of the treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the Archduke and the Conde of Fuenfaldagna; who begun their journey within two or three days after the signing of it: Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days’ journey of Flanders.

The treaty
signed April
1657, be-
tween
Spain and
the King.

The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain, for the approbation and signature of his Catholic

The King removes his family from Cologne, and comes to reside at Bruges.

tholic Majesty. The King with his small train went to Bruges, and lodged in the house of a subject of his own, the Lord Tarah, an Irishman; who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother.

There the King stayed, till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the Duke of Gloucester, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his Majesty had returned again to Bruffels, to congratulate Don Juan's arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at Bruges as he had been at Cologne; where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his œconomy.

As, upon the dissolution of the unruly Parliament, Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that, by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies, he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him; yet he discerned, that, by breaking their fortunes and estates, he had not at all broken their spirits; and that, by taking so many of their lives, their numbers were not much lessened;

lessened; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, they were enough inclined.

But that which troubled him most, was the distemper ^{Cromwell} in his army; where he knew there were many troops ^{disturbed} more at the disposal of that party that would destroy ^{with the di-} him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to ^{visions in} have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of ^{his own} sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention ^{army.} to keep them as a guard to his own person; and to that purpose he had sent a person to treat with Colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the Protestant Cantons; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient, which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people, as in the army. He constituted, out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a body of Major Generals; that is, he ^{Constitutes} assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be ^{his Major} under his command as their Major General: so that all ^{Generals.} England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man, in those counties which were committed to his charge, had all that authority which was before divided among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

The Major General committed to prison what per- ^{Their} sons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all ^{power.} monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the public; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to

list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey their Major General. A horseman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. By this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many Bassa's with their bands of Janizaries, towards the people, and were extremely odious to all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

When Admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica, the war was sufficiently declared against the Catholic King, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of Admiral and General with him; Blake having found himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cales in

Mountague
sent to join
with Blake;
and put in
commission
with him.

ex-

expectation of the Spanish West India fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water, and some other provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the English fleet, came upon the coast; and before they were discovered by the commander of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them, (though he was inferior to them in number), they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the Spanish Admiral run on shore in the bay; and the Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of Mexico with his wife, and sons, and daughters, fired; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter, perished: his other daughters, and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English; who took the Rear-Admiral, and another ship, very richly laden; which, together with the prisoners, were sent into England, the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

An English
squadron
lights upon
the Spanish
West India
fleet; takes
the Rear-
Admiral
and another
ship off of
Cales.

The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be there coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be dispatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to

The bullion
taken con-
veyed from
Portsmouth
to London.

the Spaniard was prodigious ; though most of what was in the Admiral was saved, and that only : and they saw the English fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress or compose those refractory spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such sheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster, upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned, who were men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the House, who did not first subscribe, “ that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a “ Protector ;” which being tendered, many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges, and freedom of Parliament.

Cromwell
summons a
Parliament
to meet
Sept. 17,
1656.

Imposes a
subscription upon
the mem-
bers before
they sit.

The

The major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a Speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the Protector begun to hope that he had gained his point. With The proceedings of this Parliament: very little or no contradiction, they passed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for so they had long called the King) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the Protector. Then they passed several acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the Protector for his life; and passed several other acts for the raising of monies; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways, vast sums of money were to be, and afterwards were, raised. All these acts they presented solemnly to his Highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge theirs."

But after all this he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for ought appeared, remove him from being both Protector and General. There had been for some time jealousies between

Cromwell's
jealousy of
Lambert.

him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those Major Generals ; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he desired to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of Parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirmed, and ratified by act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, “ that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed ; and that the government would be better, “ if it passed another consultation besides that of the “ House of Commons.” In matter of religion, he would often speak, “ that there was much of good in the order “ of Bishops, if the dross were scoured off.” He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him ; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him ; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be King ; which was the more confirmed, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the Parliament had dispatched those acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the Major Generals, inveighed sharply against the temper

per and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several interests of the nation ; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, “ that they might invest Cromwell with
 “ the title, rights, and dignity of a King ; and then he
 “ would know, what he was to do towards the satisfac-
 “ tion of all parties, and how to govern those who would
 “ not be satisfied.”

A proposition in the Parliament for Cromwell to be King.

This proposition found a great concurrence ; and very many, who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him King. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation, than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wish his restoration : and it cannot be denied that very many of the King’s party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making Cromwell King for the present, was the best expedient for the restoration of his Majesty ; and that the army, and the whole nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

But the more sober persons of the King’s party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture ; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes ; and that which was left of spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government ; that very many, who had sustained the King’s quarrel in the beginning, were dead ; that the present King, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few ; so that there was too much rea-

son to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the King, was more directed to the monarchy than to the person ; and that if Cromwell were once made King, and so the government run again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission ; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcilable to the present government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a King, how unlawful a one soever ; and there was an act of Parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King Harry the seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful Sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the House.

Lambert
and his party
oppose
this over-
ture :

On the other side, Lambert, who was the second man of power in the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation: some of them said directly, “ that if, contrary to their
“ oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end, for
“ obtaining whereof they had spent so much blood and
“ treasure, they must at last return and submit to the
“ old government, and live again under a King, they
“ would

" would choose much rather to obey the true and law-
 " ful heir to the Crown, who was descended from a
 " long succession of Kings who had managed the
 " scepter over the nation, than to submit to a person
 " who at best was but their equal, and raised by them-
 " selves from the same degree of which they all were,
 " and, by the trust they had reposed in him, had raised
 " himself above them." That which put an end to
 the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful as
 any thing), that some of his own family, who had
 grown up under him, and had their whole dependence
 upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood, Whaley, and
 others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any
 of the other officers; and confidently undertook to
 know, " that himself would never consent to it; and
 " therefore that it was very strange that any men should
 " importune the putting such a question, before they
 " knew that he would accept it, unless they took this way
 " to destroy him." Upon this (for which the undertakers
 received no thanks) the first debate was put off, till
 farther consideration.

And some
 of Crom-
 well's own
 relations.

The debate was resumed again the next day, with the
 same warmth, the same persons still of the same opi-
 nion they had been before; most of the officers of the
 army, as well as they who were the great dependents
 upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately op-
 posed the making him King, as Lambert and the rest
 did, who looked to be successive Protectors after his de-
 cease; only it was observed, that they who the day be-
 fore had undertaken, that he himself would never endure
 it, (which had especially made the pause at that time),
 urged that argument no more; but inveighed still
 against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would
 infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his Privy
 Council,

A committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it.

Council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him King, and much the major part of the House concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of several of the most eminent members of the House to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of the House, that he would take upon him the title of King; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons, which had been offered in the House, and which had swayed the House to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same influence upon his Highness."

He gives them audience, and they offer him their reasons.

He gave them audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare overture to him, as the desire of his Parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, "he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such ambition in him, and that his conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the Parliament had desired upon so long and mature deliberation; that they, who knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest titles than to wear them, were appointed to offer many reasons, which had induced the House to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon him, that had been made upon them in the House." He was too desirous to give the Parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience, to refuse

refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him ; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place ; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out “ the nature of the English people, and the nature of the government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they had flourished from the time they had been a people : that though the extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical kings, had transported them to throw off the government itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders ; yet they found by experience, that no other government would so well fit the nation, as that to which it had been accustomed : that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his Highness had taken, and which had been crowned, even with miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all his counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet spirit in men, that threatened the public peace ; and that it was most apparent, by the daily combinations and conspiracies against the present government, how just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the nation was devoted to the old form, with which it was acquainted ; and that it was the love of that, not the affection to the young man who pretended a title to it, and was known to nobody, which disposed so many to wish for the return of it : that the name and title of a Protector was never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of a subject, during the reign of an infant Sovereign ; and therefore, that the laws gave little respect to him, but were always executed in the name of the King, how young soever, and how unfit
“ soever

“foever to govern: that whatsoever concerned the rights
“of any family, or any personal pretence, was well and
“safely over; the nation was united, and of one mind
“in the rejection of the old line; there was no danger of
“it; but nobody could say, that they were of one mind
“in the rejection of the old form of government; to
“which they were still most addicted: therefore, they
“besought him, out of his love and tenderness to the
“commonwealth, and for the preservation of the nation,
“which had got so much renown and glory under his
“conduct, that he would take that name and title which
“had ever presided over it, and by which as he could
“establish a firm peace at home, so he would find his
“fame and honour more improved abroad; and that
“those very Princes and Kings, who, out of admiration
“of his virtue and noble actions, had contracted a re-
“verence for his person, and an impatient desire of his
“friendship, would look upon him with much more
“veneration, when they saw him clothed with the same
“majesty, and as much their equal in title as in merit;
“and would with much more alacrity renew the old
“alliances with England, when they were renewed in
“the old form, and under the old title, which would
“make them durable; since no foreign Prince could
“presume to take upon him to judge of right of suc-
“cession; which had been frequently changed in all
“kingdoms, not only upon the expiration of a line,
“but upon deprivation and deposition; in such man-
“ner as was most for the good and benefit of the peo-
“ple; of which there was a fresh instance in their own
“eyes, in the kingdom of Portugal; where the Duke
“of Braganza, by the election of the people, assumed
“the crown, and title of King, from the King of
“Spain; who had enjoyed it quietly, and without in-
“terruption,

“ interruption, during three descents ; and he was acknowledged as Sovereign of that kingdom by the late King ; who received his ambassadors accordingly.”

Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, (and wanted not inclination to have concurred with them ; he thanked them “ for the pains they had taken,”) “ to which he would not take upon him “ to give a present answer ; that he would consider of “ all they had said to him, and resort to God for counsel ; and then he would send for them, and acquaint “ them with his resolution :” and so they parted, all men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. There is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be King, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself, or some friend, with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was, “ that if he would make himself King, they “ should easily know what they had to do, but they “ knew nothing of the submission and obedience which “ they were to pay to a Protector ;” and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him ; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him : nor did he much consider those other officers of the army, who in
the

the House concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great ; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him ; his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable ; and told him resolutely, “ that they could do him no good, if they should adhere to him ; and therefore they were resolved for their own interest to leave him, and do the utmost they could against him, from the time he assumed that title.”

It was reported, that an officer of name, in the *eclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, “ that if ever he took the title of King upon him, he would kill him.” Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, “ that there were a number of men, who bound themselves by oath to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept that title.” They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream, or apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation ; and that he then observed, it had only declared, “ that he should be the greatest man in England, and should be near to be King ;” which seemed to imply that he should be only

only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the committee of Parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good conscience, accept the government under the title of a King."

He refuses
the title of
King.

Many were then of opinion, that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the King's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that, if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army, who would not have left him, who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council; that the first motion for the making him King was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in Parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him; which no particular

cular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an assault; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered; as appeared afterwards, in many conspiracies against his life.

His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who, as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have so quartered and modelled his troops, as to have secured him in any enterprize he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the King's restoration; and many of the soberest men in the nation confessed, after the King's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, or his fear in the refusing that supreme title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him
all

all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the title and authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble Petition and Advice; in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other Protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his Parliament sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the Banqueting House; where their Speaker Withrington presented, and read the Petition and Advice of his Parliament, and desired his assent to it.

He is confirmed Protector by the humble Petition and Advice.

The contents and substance of it were, "that his Highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title of Protector, be pleased to execute the office of chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, &c. and to govern according to all things in that Petition and Advice: and also, that he would in his lifetime appoint the person that should succeed him in the government: that he would call a Parliament consisting of two Houses, once in a year at farthest: that those persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are members: that

The contents of it.

“ none but those under the qualifications therein men-
 “ tioned, should be capable to serve as members in
 “ Parliament: that the power of the other House be
 “ limited, as therein is prescribed: that the laws and
 “ statutes of the land be observed and kept; no laws
 “ altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by
 “ new laws made by act of Parliament: that the
 “ yearly sum of a million of pounds sterling be settled
 “ for the maintenance of the navy and army; and
 “ three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the
 “ government; besides other temporary supplies, as
 “ the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities
 “ of the nation to require: that the number of the Pro-
 “ tector’s Council shall not exceed one and twenty;
 “ whereof seven shall be a *quorum*: the chief officers of
 “ state, as Chancellors, Keepers of the Great Seal, &c.
 “ to be approved by Parliament: that his Highness
 “ would encourage a godly ministry in these nations;
 “ and that such as do revile and disturb them in the
 “ worship of God, may be punished according to
 “ law; and where laws are defective, new ones to be
 “ made: that the Protestant Christian religion, as it is
 “ contained in the Old and New Testament, be asserted,
 “ and held forth for the public profession of these na-
 “ tions, and no other; and that a confession of faith be
 “ agreed upon, and recommended to the people of
 “ these nations; and none to be permitted, by words
 “ or writing, to revile or reproach the said confession of
 “ faith.”

When this Petition and Advice was distinctly read
 to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and
 other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and told
 them, “ that he came not thither that day as to a day
 of triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that

His speech
 upon pass-
 ing it.

“ ever

“ ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of
“ the greatest burdens that ever was laid upon the back
“ of any human creature ; so that, without the support
“ of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under the
“ weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the na-
“ tion committed to his charge : therefore he desired
“ the help of the Parliament, and the help of all those
“ who feared God, that by their help he might receive
“ help and assistance from the hand of God, since no-
“ thing but his presence could enable him to discharge
“ so great a trust.” He told them, that “ this was but an
“ introduction to the carrying on of the government of
“ the three nations ; and therefore he recommended the
“ supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the wis-
“ dom of the Parliament ;” and said, “ he could not
“ doubt, but the same spirit that had led the Parlia-
“ ment to this, would easily suggest the rest to them ; and
“ that nothing should have induced him to have under-
“ taken this intolerable burden to flesh and blood, but
“ that he saw it was the Parliament’s care to answer
“ those ends for which they were engaged ;” calling
God to witness, “ that he would not have undergone it,
“ but that the Parliament had determined that it made
“ clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, and
“ preservation of such as fear God ; and if the nation
“ were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall
“ as a sin on their heads.” He concluded with recom-
mending some things to them, “ which, he said, would
“ tend to reformation, by discountenancing vice and
“ encouraging virtue ;” and so dismissed them to return
to their House.

But now that they had performed all he could expect
from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for
himself ; and that all the discourses which had passed

of Kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a message to the Parliament, "that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his inauguration should be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

The solemnity of his inauguration.

On the day appointed, Westminster Hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of state under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was set in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament Withrington, that this promotion might not seem to be without the nobility's having any share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines; the Speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and lastly presented him a scepter of gold, which he put into his hand, and made a large discourse of these emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal

formal coronation, but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the Speaker, in these words, (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory Petition and Advice): "I do, in the presence, and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and to the utmost of my power, and understanding, encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preserving of the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges of the people thereof; and shall in all things, according to the best of my knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law."

After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the dispatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other House with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his Parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all

He adjourns his Parliament to January the 20th. His actions in the vacancy of Parliament.

that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He sent now for his eldest son Richard; who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampshire; and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy Counsellor, and caused him to be chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a successor, as was in all respects equal to the office:" and so men guessed this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he had sent into Ireland, and made him his Lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

His daughters disposed of in marriage.

He had only two daughters unmarried: one of those he gave to the grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and thoroughly engaged in the cause from the beginning; the other was married to the Lord Viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. There were many reasons to believe, that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed, that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by

by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

These domestic triumphs were confirmed and im-^{The success of his arms abroad.}proved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply those forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own use, in which the six thousand English under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces, "that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend;" that as soon as they had taken Montmedy, and St. Venant, the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, "that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first attempt."

But that which made a noise indeed, and crowned his^{The victory of his fleet over the Spaniard.}successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain, and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cales and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the West

Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up Cales, one way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

With this resolution the fleet stood for the Canaries; and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle, moored along the shore; and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisting of sixteen good ships), which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. Besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered with a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furnished with divers good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the General saw in what posture the Spaniard lay, he thought it impossible to bring off
any

any of the galleons; however, he resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible), and sent Captain Stayner with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons; which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts, and lesser breast-works, with continual broadsides to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships, which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every ship, galleons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but it happened the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner, So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled

unparalleled action; no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships, and on the shore, was incredible.

Blake returns with the fleet; dies in the way.

The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake; who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the sound of Plymouth, expired. He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and to encourage his officers to venture their lives, that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the Kings. He was a man of private extraction; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford; where he took the degree of a Master of Arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a fullen nature, and spent his time most with good-fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time, and the power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an anti-monarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the King; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford, being trusted

His burial, and character.

trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the Governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the Prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the Prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent service to the Parliament, especially at Taunton, at land, he then betook himself wholly to the sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

After all this lustre and glory, in which the Protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year, threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the Parlia-
The Parlia-
ment comes
together
Jan. 20.
ment

ment again together. They did not reassemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted ; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are ; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

Cromwell
speaks to
them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the Commons, by having called the other House ; which by the Petition and Advice was to be done ; and having filled it, for the most part, with the officers of the army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the Parliament used to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he had any thing to say to them ; now) he came to the House of Lords ; where his new creations were ; then he sent the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that House, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, begun his speech in the old style, " My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, of the House of Commons : " and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them ; thanked them " for their fair correspondence the last session ; " and assured them, " if they would continue to prosecute his designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them."

But as soon as the Commons came to their House, they caused the third article of the Petition and Advice to be read ; by which it was provided, that no members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that House of which they

they were members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their House, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the most inveterate enemies the Protector had, came and sat in the House; among whom were Sir Harry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal men; who had much the more credit and interest in the House, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

The House of Commons re-admit all their members that had been excluded, by virtue of a clause in the Petition and Advice.

As soon as these men came into the House, they began to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other House; "that it was true, the Petition and Advice had admitted there should be such an House; but that it should be a House of Peers, that they should be called *My Lords*, there was no provision; nor did it appear what jurisdiction it should have: that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they should suffer those who were created by themselves, and sat only by their vote, to be better men than they, and to have a negative voice to control their masters." When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the Protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: "Who gave him that authority to make Peers? that it had been the proper business of that House to have provided for all this; which it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he had not presumptuously taken that sovereign power upon him."

Their transactions afterward.

Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and perplexed with this new spirit; and found that he had been short-sighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling

Cromwell
convenes
both
Houses,
and speaks
to them.

He dissolves
that Parlia-
ment Feb.

4-

Raynolds
cast away
coming out
of Flanders.

filling his House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: for he had taken away those out of that House who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other House, without supplying those other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and convened both Houses before him; and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. "The other House," he said, "were Lords, and should be Lords;" and commanded them "to enter upon such business, as might be for the benefit, not the distraction of the commonwealth; which he would with God's help prevent." And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the fourth of February; and sending for the Commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that it concerned his interest, as much as the peace and tranquillity of the nation, to dissolve that Parliament; and therefore he did put an end to their sitting." So that cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a storm.

The Parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament, Lockhart, who was the Protector's ambassador in France, was designed to take that

that charge upon them ; and all things, which were to be transported from England, for the prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were dispatched with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the Parliament.

As soon as he was rid of that, he thought it as necessary to give some instances at home, how little he feared those men who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission ; which he ^{Cromwell} ^{turns Lam-} ^{bert out of} ^{the army.} ^{fully} gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being Major General in the North, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers Cromwell substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other ; and Lambert retired to his garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority ; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire master of his army.

He had observed, throughout the Parliament, that the Major Generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of King conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous to have the Major Generals confirmed by Parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it ; which, with the authority they had of lifting men in a readiness, would have made their
power,

power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, Cromwell was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to himself.

He abridges
the power
of his Major
Generals.

He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad; and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surpris'd; "that there was a design to seize upon the Tower; and at the same time that there should be a general insurrection in the city of the Cavaliers, and discontented party, whilst the city remained so secure, that they had put their militia into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves in such an attempt; but on the contrary, that they were so negligent in their discipline, that the Marquis of Ormond had lain securely in the city full three weeks without being discovered; who was sent over by the King to countenance a general insurrection, whilst the King himself, he said, had ten thousand men ready at Bruges, with two and twenty ships, with which he meant to invade some other more northern part of the kingdom." He wished them "to lose no time in putting their militia into a good posture, and to make very strict searches to discover what strangers were harboured within the walls of the city, and to keep good watches every night." He ordered double guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary occasion for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the King's party, to be surpris'd in the night in their beds,

He acquaints the
Lord Mayor
&c. of the
city with a
plot of the
Cavaliers,
and the
Marquis of
Ormond's
being in
England.

Many persons seized
on upon
that account.

(for

(for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious), and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity used in the several counties; for the better explanation and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

Within little more than two months after the King's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the Archduke with the King, was sent ratified from Madrid by the King of Spain, with many great compliments; which the King was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses of the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great King, they let his Majesty know, "that the Catholic King had assigned so many crowns as amounted to six thousand guilders, to be paid every month towards a royal aid; and half so much more, for the support of the Duke of Gloucester; that though the sum was very small, it was as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment;" the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the King should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the King should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments, there was not one penny allowed; or any other

The King
raises four
regiments
of his sub-
jects in
Flanders.

encouragement, than little quarters to bring their men to; and, after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the Lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his Majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his person. The Marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over. The Earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them, the King gave the fourth regiment to the Lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage; who had served his father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

The King
no longer
receives any
pension
from
France.

As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his Majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of France, that he would no longer receive that pension, which, during the time he had remained at Cologne, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into Flanders, he never would receive any part of it.

The Spanish army was at this time before Condé; a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and

and Cambray; which was invested now by Don Juan; who finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muskery, a nephew of the Marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the Marquis to the camp; which his Majesty could not refuse; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to Brussels (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months, which were assigned to the King) to confer with Don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the winter upon England; Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena referring all things which related to England to Don Alonzo, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to Brussels, at the same time that the Marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

The Marquis of Ormond sent to treat with the Lord Muskery at Condé about his regiment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to Brussels to confer with Don Alonzo de Cardinas.

Condé was reduced to straits by the time the Marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by Don Juan, at least by the Marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with those of the Irish nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; especially they desired that his nephew Muskery, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come

The success
of the Mar-
quis's con-
ference
with Mus-
kery.

over with his regiment, which was much the best, what-
ever the other would do. After the capitulation was
signed, the Marquis easily found opportunity to confer
with his nephew, and the other officers of the several re-
giments. When he had informed them of the King's
pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the
Spaniard was, for the present, necessary in order to the
King's service, the other regiments made no scruple of
it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go
whither they should be directed.

Only Muskery expressly refused that either himself,
or any of his men, should leave their colours, till, ac-
cording to his articles, they should march into France.
He said, "it was not consistent with his honour to do
"otherwise." But he declared, "that as soon as he
"should come into France, he would leave his regiment
"in their quarters; and would himself ride to the Court,
"and demand his pass; which, by his contract with
"the Cardinal, was to be given to him, whenever his
"own King should demand his service; and his regi-
"ment should likewise be permitted to march with
"him." It was urged to him, "that it was now in his
"own power to dispose of himself; which he might
"lawfully do; but that, when he was found in France,
"he would no more have it in his power." He said,
"he was bound to ask his dismissal, and the Cardinal
"was bound to give it: and when he had done his part,
"he was very confident the Cardinal would not break
"his word with him; but if he should, he would get
"nothing by it; for he knew his men would follow him
"whithersoever he went; and therefore desired his uncle
"to satisfy himself; and to assure the King and Don
"Juan, that he would, within six weeks, return; and if
"he might have quarters assigned him, his regiment
"should

"should be there within few days after him." It was in vain to press him farther, and the Marquis telling Don Juan, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better esteem of him than of the other officers, who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

Muskery marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France, rode to Paris; where the Cardinal then was; who received him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his capitulation, the Cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to serve the Spaniard, and not his own King; who had no employment for him: that if he would stay in their service till the King had need of him, he would take care to send him and his regiment in a better condition to his Majesty, than they were now in." When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment; averring, "that he was not bound to it, because there could be no pretence that they could serve the King; who had no use of them, nor wherewithal to pay them."

Muskery took what he could get, his own pass; and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Brussels; and desired Don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by

Muskery
brings his
regiment
over to the
Spaniards.

fixes and sevens, his whole regiment, officers and soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment, as of any that was in their service.

The Chan-
cellor of
the Exche-
quer's con-
ferences
with Don
Alonzo.

When the Marquis proposed any thing that concerned the King, during the time he was in the army, Don Juan still writ to Don Alonzo to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found Don Alonzo in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the Irish Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had received the money that was assigned to the King, he returned to Bruges, as the Marquis did from the army, when the business of Condé was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between Cromwell and the Cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the Cardinal had not only promised, "that the King should receive no assistance from thence; but that nobody who related to his service, or against whom any exception should be taken, should be permitted to reside in France;" and that, as the King had already been driven thence; so when the time should be ripe, the Duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty with Cromwell, the French did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the King's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclu-
sion

son of the Duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the King, and some who had charges in the army. And the Cardinal, and the Queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the Duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

The Cardinal gives notice to the Duke of York, that he must leave the French service.

Amongst those who by that secret article were to leave the French service, the Earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the Cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the Earl, having received very great obligations from the Cardinal, thought his interest greater in the Queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself), and so, in the Cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the Earl took for pure friendship), until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the Earl was Lieutenant General of the army in Italy. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, "which obliged them to receive commands from Cromwell, which were very uneasy to them;" then told him, "that he could stay no longer in their service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss the Duke of York himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would part with him, as with a man that had done them great service." The Earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell; and quickly had the image of a bet-

The Earl of Bristol ordered also to leave France.

Comes to
Bruges to
the King.

ter fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the Cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in servants and horses. So he came directly for Bruges to the King; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his Majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his Majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to Don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King.

There was nothing more known, than that the Spaniard had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the Earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England, whilst he was Secretary of State, of which Don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders; where he was proclaimed, and detested in all the rhymes and songs of the country, for the savage outrages his forces had committed by fire and plunder, two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "that all the time he was in France, he was out of his sphere;

“ sphere; and that his own genius always disposed him
 “ to Spain; where he was now resolved to make his
 “ fortune.” And with this confidence he left Bruges,
 and went to the army, when it had newly taken Condé;
 where he found his reception such, both from Don Juan
 and the Marquis of Carracena, as he had reason to expect;
 which did not at all deject him.

He was present when Don Juan eat, and when he used ^{ingratiates himself} to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of ^{with Don} scholastic points, if his confessor, or any other learned ^{Juan, notwithstanding the great} person, was present. The Earl always interposed in those ^{prejudice the Spaniards had} discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides ^{against him.} his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and Don Juan begun to be very much pleased with his company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in astrology; in which he found the Earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that within a week after he had first seen him, he desired the Earl to calculate his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to Don Juan; which when the Marquis of Carracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant General of the French army under Prince Thomas, in conjunction with the Duke of Modena, against Milan, the very year before, when the Marquis of Carracena was governor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his conduct in signal actions; which the Marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And Don Alonso being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the Earl,

and

and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in Don Juan and the Marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired Don Juan and the Marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the Court, and to the army; and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and Don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Brussels.

There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Ghislain; which, being within few leagues of Brussels, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the Court, that they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison were Irish, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to Sir George Lane, who was secretary to the Marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up that place would be a service to the King? and if it would, they would undertake it." The Marquis sent his secretary to inform the Earl of Bristol of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. He communicated it to Don Juan, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the King. So now he became entrusted between the
King

He is instrumental in recovering St. Ghislain to the Spaniards.

King and Don Juan ; which he had from the beginning contrived to be ; Don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the King, and the King well pleased that he had such credit with Don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have much use ; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghislain was very acceptable to the Spaniards ; their campaign being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghislain behind them ; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the siege of that place ; and therefore they authorized the Earl to promise great rewards in money, and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that Don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schomberg discovered the conspiracy, and apprehended two or three of the officers, yet the soldiers, which were upon the guards in some out-forts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This service was of very great importance to the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the Earl ; who then came to the King at Bruges, and said all that he thought fit of Don Juan to the King, and, amongst the rest, “ that Don Juan advised his Majesty to send some discreet person to Madrid, to solicit his affairs there ; but
“ that

“that he did not think the person he had designed to “send thither” (who was Sir Harry de Vic, that had been long resident in Bruffels) “would be acceptable “there.” This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, Sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly in his office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him; and was now secretary to the Duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other post; and was about this time come to the King, as a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of York’s purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the Court of France. Bennet had been long a person very acceptable to the King; and therefore his Majesty readily consented, that

He obtains
of the King
that Sir H.
Bennet
should be
sent envoy
to Madrid.

he should go to Madrid instead of de Vic: so he returned with the Earl to Bruffels, that he might be presented, and made known to Don Juan; from whom the Earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

The Duke
of York
leaves Paris,
and comes
to the King
at Bruges.

The time was now come that the Duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the King to Bruges; where there were then all the visible hopes of the Crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the late King, the Princess Henrietta only excepted; for, besides the King and his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Princess Royal of Orange made that her way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brothers.

The Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer
made Lord
Chancellor.

It was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Edward Herbert, who was the last Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being lately dead at Paris. Now the King
put

put the Seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the King first employed the Marquis of Ormond, with whom his Majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unsuitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the Great Seal till the King should come into England; and, "that his Majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, "that he was not troubled with these suits, which he "would be, if the Seal were in the hands of a proper "officer to be used, since every body would be then "importuning the King for the grant of offices, honours, and lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and do him as great mischief by granting." The which when the Marquis told the King), his Majesty himself went to the Chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; "that the principal reason which he had alleged against "receiving the Seal, was the greatest reason that "disposed him to confer it upon him." Thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands; one whereof was of the Queen's house and lands of Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the Seal presently put to it; which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His Majesty told

told him also of many other importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and “that he saw no other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the Seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny.” And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon the Earl of Bristol, and Secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the King’s pleasure; who delivered the Seal to him in the Council, in the Christmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, because many great affairs, and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in Cologne, the King’s very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his Majesty and the King of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. The King, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared; which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from England to assure him, “that there was so universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the King, but they would begin the work themselves:” yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the King, and they again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, “that they

Transac-
tions of the
King’s
friends in
England.

“ they would ruin themselves, and all people who should
“ join with them.”

The King was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the work very hard ; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement ; and therefore he sent to them, and conjured them “ to attempt no-
“ thing, till he sent a person to them, who, if they were
“ ready, should have authority enough to persuade the
“ rest to a conjunction with them, and should him-
“ self be fit to conduct them in any reasonable enter-
“ prise.”

The Marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the King, “ that he would privately go into England, and
“ confer with those who were most forward ; and if he
“ found, that their counsels were discreetly laid, he
“ would encourage them, and unite all the rest to them ;
“ and if matters were not ripe, he would compose them
“ to be quiet ;” and there was no man in England affected to the King’s service, who would not be readily advised by him. The Chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger ; and it cannot be conceived, with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell’s jealousy and vigilance, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The King consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the Marquis’s absence from Bruges might not create jealousy, and discourage, “ whither he should be gone.” Therefore it was
for

Which was
the occasion of the
Marquis of
Ormond’s
going into
England.

for some time discoursed, "that the Marquis of Ormond was to go into Germany to the Duke of Newburgh," (who was known to have affection for the King,) and, "that he should from thence bring with him two regiments for the service of his Majesty."

These discourses being generally made and believed, the Marquis took his leave publicly of the King, with his servants fit for such a journey, who continued the journey towards Germany; so that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the Marquis of Ormond's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neile, (who had encouraged him very much to that undertaking), took the way of Holland; and hired a bark at Schevelin; in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence, without any trouble, they got to London, whilst the Parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found means to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the King most depended, and against whose positive advice his Majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That

The temper
he found
the King's
friends in.

which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity between many of those who equally wished the King's restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of "the rashness of the other, who believed any officer of the army that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them to communicate with such persons; which because they refused, (as they had reason), the others loaded them with reproaches,

“proaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his
 “Majesty’s service:” they protested, “that they could
 “not discover or believe that there was any such prepa-
 “rations in readiness, that it could be counsellable to
 “appear in arms against a government so fortified and
 “established, as the Protector’s seemed to be: that it
 “was probable the Parliament might not comply with
 “Cromwell’s desires; and then there was such a dis-
 “covery of malice between several persons of potent
 “condition, that many advantages might be offered to
 “the King’s party: if they would have the patience to
 “attend the event, and till those factions should be en-
 “gaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the
 “King’s interest in disposing of themselves; but if they
 “should engage, before such a time, in any insurrec-
 “tion, or by seizing some insignificant town, all dissent-
 “ing parties would be reconciled, till the King’s friends
 “should all be ruined, though they might afterwards
 “return to their old animosities.” In a word, though
 they appeared very wary, they declared such a resigna-
 tion to the King’s pleasure, “that, if the Marquis were
 “satisfied, upon his conference with other men, that
 “the time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they
 “would presently receive his orders; and do what he
 “should require, how unsuccessfully soever.”

On the other side, there were many younger men, who,
 having had no part in the former war, were impatient
 to shew their courage and affection to the King. And
 those men, being acquainted with many of the old officers
 of the late King’s army, who saw many of their old soldiers
 now in Cromwell’s army, and found them to talk after
 their old manner, concluded that they would all appear
 for the King, as soon as they should see his colours
 flying. These men talking together, would often dis-

course, how easy a thing it would be, with two troops of horse, to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard; and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had lifted so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these meetings some citizens, who undertook for the affection of the city; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials, that many honest men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the King was even ready to land with such an army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent express into Flanders; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their dispatches from the King, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good service in making his Majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those people with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the Marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they should be infallibly sure of the King's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and
being

being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the Parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quatermaine, the King's Physician, through Suffex; and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he came into Flanders.

The Marquis returns out of England.

This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that discourse before mentioned to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, of the Lord Marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into Cromwell's hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the Protector was well assured that the Marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the King's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies, of all conditions, within the kingdom, with spectacles which might mortify them.

Cromwell apprehends several persons.

In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Suffex; whose mother had been sister to the Earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the King's judges. This son of his, who now possessed his estate,

Mr. Stapley's engagement for the King.

had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the King ; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his own life and his fortune for his Majesty's restoration ; and not only his fortune, but his interest was considerable in that maritime county : so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate, which the treason of his father had forfeited.

Mr. Mordaunt is
true for
the King.

There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger son, and brother, of the Earls of Peterborough ; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution ; and being allied to the Marquis of Ormond, he did by him inform his Majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the Marquis's journey into England.

Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the King under Mr. Stapley's own hand : and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt desired, that his Majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him ; which he would provide, and cause to be ready
against

against the season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his commission "from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand." Before this discovery Mr. Mordaunt had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the Marquis of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapley, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible consternation.

Mr. Stapley discovers what he knew of the plot.

Mr. Mordaunt seized on, and committed to the Tower.

Before this high court of justice, of which John Lilie, who gave his vote in the King's blood, and con-

Mr. Mordaunt ; Sir H. Slingsby ; and Dr. Hewet, tried before a high Court of Justice.

tinued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell's, was President ; there were first brought to be tried, John Mordaunt ; Sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire ; and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the King's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other ; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them ; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law ; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that was brought to trial was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapley would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead not-guilty ; but insisted, " that by the law of the land he ought not to be tried by that court ;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer ; and then desired, " that his counsel might have liberty to argue the point in law ;" which of course used to be granted in all legal courts. * But he was told, " that he was better to bethink himself ; that they were well satisfied in the legality of their court, and would not suffer the jurisdiction of it to be disputed ; that the

" law

“law of England had provided a sentence for such obstinate persons as refused to be tried by it; which was, that they should be condemned as mutes; which would be his case, if he continued refractory:” so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingsby was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded not-guilty; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the King, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard; and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to prison.

Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some, who, out of pity, or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband: and in the evening of that day the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them.

The means
by which
Mr. Mordaunt
escaped sentence.

The one, “that she should prevail with her husband to plead; then his friends might do him some service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of law, he would infallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him.” The other, “that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the commission to Stapley; and that there was to that point, besides Stapley, one Colonel Mallory, whose testi-

“mony was more valued than the other’s.” This Mallory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Suffex, and had been apprehended about the same time that Stapley was; and finding, upon his first examination, by the questions administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapley. He was brought in custody from the Tower, to give in evidence against Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention in the court, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a friend of hers disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when Mallory was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice, put into her husband’s hand, as he passed to the bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had

had done the day before, to spend time, and the President, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial; and behaved himself with courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the Marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King, with notable address. That of the commission of Stapley was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at Worcester, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the questions Mr. Mordaunt asked him with that confusion, that his evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. Then Mallory was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own rules, defer their sentence. And it so fell out, by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone, that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the President; who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him innocent for ought appeared to the court. There was not in
Cromwell's

Cromwell's time the like instance ; and scarce any other man escaped the judgment, that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the prison : and he had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case so unheard of, that any man, discharged upon a public trial, should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the King's service as before, and with better success.

Sir Harry
Slingsby
condemned ;

Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewet had worse fortune ; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity ; and the court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot, to make so many formidable examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the Crown from the first assaulting that he had contrived, and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the Earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire two years before, for the delivery of

of one of the block-houses to him for the King's service: nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation; but rather acknowledged and justified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the King, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's ^{and Doctor} declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which it was ^{Hewet, re-} not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody ^{fusing still} being suffered to speak with him), and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the court; which, upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial: but they then refused to admit him; and so sentence of death was pronounced against them both; ^{They are} which they both underwent with great Christian cou- ^{both exe-} rage. ^{cuted.}

Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first ^{An account} rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire; and was returned ^{of Sir Harry} to serve as a member in the Parliament that continued ^{Slingsby.} so many years; where he sat till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the Court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their councils, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the King. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the Crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had

had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder ; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new government ; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the Lord Falconbridge ; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse ; but told them, “ he “ was to die for being an honest man, of which he was “ very glad.”

And of Dr.
Hewet.

Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London : where, by the affection of the parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the Lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church ; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his life ; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the King at Cologne or Bruges ; with which he was charged in his indictment ; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out ; for, besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, Colonel Ashton, Stacy, and

and Betteley, condemned by the same court ; who were treated with more severity ; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city, to make the deeper impressi^{on} upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to relieve them ; amongst whom Mallory was one ; who was not at liberty till the King's return ; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespassed.

Colonel
Ashton, and
Stacy, and
Betteley,
citizens,
condemned
and exe-
cuted.

Though the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the King's party was the more dispirited ; but Cromwell found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole body of sectaries, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him ; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him ; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the King by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction, and great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the King ; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them ; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men

Cromwell
found new
enemies
among the
sectaries.

An address
sent by the
Anabaptists
to the King.

men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable ; which they pretended to affect.

Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that petition and address, which was never published, and of which there remains no copy in any hand that I know of, but only the original, which was presented to the King, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England, to have any such transcript in his custody), it will not be amiss in this place to insert the petition and address in the very words in which it was presented to his Majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an Anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the King's pleasure upon the receipt of it ; it being sent by an officer who had served the King in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst those sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity : for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words :

The address
itself. *To his most Excellent Majesty, Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

“ The humble address of the subscribers, in the
“ behalf of themselves, and many thousands
“ more, your Majesty's most humble and faith-
“ ful subjects.

“ May it please your Majesty,
“ When we sit down and recount the wonderful and
“ unheard of dispensations of God amongst us, when we
“ call

“ call to our remembrances the tragical actions and
 “ transactions of these late times, when we seriously
 “ consider the dark and mysterious effects of Provi-
 “ dence, the unexpected disappointment of counsels, the
 “ strange and strong convulsions of state, the various and
 “ violent motions and commotions of the people, the
 “ many changings, turnings, and overturnings of gover-
 “ nors and governments, which, in the revolutions of a
 “ few years, have been produced in this land of mira-
 “ cles, we cannot but be even swallowed up in astonish-
 “ ment, and are constrained to command an unwilling
 “ silence upon our sometimes mutinous and over-en-
 “ quiring hearts, resolving all into the good will and
 “ pleasure of that all-disposing One, whose wisdom is
 “ unfearchable, and whose ways are past finding out.

“ But although it is, and we hope ever will be, far
 “ from us, either peevishly or presumptuously to kick
 “ against the irresistible decrees of heaven, or vainly to
 “ attempt, by any faint and infirm designs of ours, to
 “ give an interruption to that over-ruling divine hand,
 “ which steers and guides, governs and determines the
 “ affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it
 “ a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as
 “ much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear
 “ country. And, since it is our lot (we may say our
 “ unhappiness) to be embarked in a shipwrecked com-
 “ monwealth, (which, like a poor weather-beaten pin-
 “ nace, has, for so long a time, been tossed upon the
 “ waves and billows of faction, split upon the rocks of
 “ violence, and is now almost quite devoured in the
 “ quicksands of ambition), what can we do more wor-
 “ thy of Englishmen, as we are by nation, or of Chris-
 “ tians, as we are by profession, than every one of us to
 “ put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of our
 “ God,

“ God, that such weak instruments as we, may be, in
“ any measure, helpful to bring it at last into the safe
“ and quiet harbour of justice and righteousness ?

“ To this undertaking, though too great for us, we
“ are apt to think ourselves so much the more strongly
“ engaged, by how much the more we are sensible, that
“ as our sins have been the greatest causes, so our many
“ follies and imprudences have not been the least means
“ of giving both birth and growth to those many mi-
“ series and calamities, which we, together with three
“ once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day sadly
“ groan under.

“ It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto
“ us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your Ma-
“ jesty, that we should recur to the beginnings, rise, and
“ root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your
“ royal Father and the Parliament. In such a discourse
“ as this, we may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to
“ make the wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the
“ curing of them : yet forasmuch as we do profess, that
“ we come not with corrosives but with balsams, and
“ that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour
“ vinegar but oil into the wounds, we hope your Ma-
“ jesty will give us leave to open them gently, that we
“ may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our
“ own past errors the more clearly.

“ In what posture the affairs of these nations stood,
“ before the noise of drums and trumpets disturbed the
“ sweet harmony that was amongst us, is not unknown
“ to your Majesty : that we were blest with a long
“ peace, and, together with it, with riches, wealth, plen-
“ ty, and abundance of all things, the lovely compa-
“ nions and beautiful products of peace, must ever be
“ acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the author
“ of

“ of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of
 “ those Princes, your father and grandfather, by the
 “ propitious influence of whose care and wisdom we thus
 “ flourished. But, as it is observed in natural bodies,
 “ idleness and fulness of diet do for the most part lay the
 “ foundation of those maladies, and secretly nourish
 “ those diseases, which can hardly be expelled by the
 “ assistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom
 “ without the use of the most loathsome medicines, nay
 “ sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the most
 “ dangerous experiments; so did we find it, by sad ex-
 “ perience, to be in this great body politic. It cannot
 “ be denied, but the whole commonwealth was faint, the
 “ whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every
 “ member thereof feeble, and every part thereof lan-
 “ guishing. And in this so general and universal a dis-
 “ temper, that there should be no weakness nor in-
 “ firmity, no unsoundness in the head, cannot well be
 “ imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate particu-
 “ lars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs;
 “ but, in general, we may say, and we think it will gain
 “ the easy assent of all men, that there were many errors,
 “ many defects, many excesses, many irregularities,
 “ many illegal and eccentrical proceedings, (some of
 “ which were in matters of the highest and greatest
 “ concernments), manifestly appearing as blots and stains
 “ upon the otherwise good government of the late King.
 “ That these proceeded from the pravity of his own dis-
 “ position, or from principles of tyranny radicated and
 “ implanted in his own nature, we do not see how it can
 “ be asserted, without apparent injury to the truth; it
 “ being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies,
 “ that he was a gentleman, as of the most strong and
 “ perfect intellectuals, so of the best and purest morals,

“ of any prince that ever swayed the English sceptre.
“ This the then Parliament being sensible of, and desirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their Sovereign, to disperse and dispel those black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own lustre, thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem and rescue him from the violent and strong impulses of his evil counsellors; who did captivate him at their pleasures to their own corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him into actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the common good and safety of the people.

“ Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at first invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cause to conclude from what we have since seen acted, that, under those plausible and gilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were secretly managed the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons, (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Providence, and the series of things, have since discovered to us), yet we bless God, that we went out in the simplicity of our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was publicly owned in the face of the sun; and that we were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our allegiance to his Majesty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of any of his just prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of government for the future, which were nothing but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens, than ornaments, of his royal diadem.

“ These things, Sir, we are bold to make recital of to
“ your

“ your Majesty ; not that we suppose your Majesty to
 “ be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive
 “ the pedigree of our own and the nation’s misfortunes ;
 “ but, like poor wildered travellers, perceiving that we
 “ have lost our way, we are necessitated, though with
 “ tired and irksome steps, thus to walk the same ground
 “ over again, that we may discover where it was that we
 “ first turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous
 “ course in the progress of our journey. Thus far we
 “ can say we have gone right, keeping the road of ho-
 “ nesty and sincerity, and having as yet done nothing
 “ but what we think we are able to justify, not by those
 “ weak and beggarly arguments, drawn either from suc-
 “ cess, which is the same to the just and to the unjust,
 “ or from the silence and satisfaction of a becalmed con-
 “ science, which is more often the effect of blindness
 “ than virtue, but from the sure, safe, sound, and un-
 “ erring maxims of law, justice, reason, and righteous-
 “ ness.

“ In all the rest of our motions ever since to this very
 “ day, we must confess, we have been wandering, de-
 “ viating, and roving up and down, this way and that
 “ way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrod-
 “ den paths of fanatic and enthusiastic notions, till now
 “ at last, but too late, we find ourselves intricated and
 “ involved in so many windings, labyrinths, and me-
 “anders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clue of
 “ thread handed to us from heaven, can be sufficient to
 “ extricate us, and restore us. We know not, we know
 “ not, whether we have juster matter of shame or sorrow
 “ administered to us, when we take a reflex view of our
 “ past actions, and consider into the commission of
 “ what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard of
 “ villainies, we have been led, cheated, cozened, and be-
 “ trayed,

“trayed, by that grand impostor, that loathsome hypo-
 “cite, that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature,
 “that *opprobrium* of mankind, that landscape of iniquity,
 “that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness,
 “who now calls himself our Protector. What have we
 “done, nay, what have we not done, which either hell-
 “ish policy was able to contrive, or brutish power to
 “execute? We have trampled under foot all authorities;
 “we have laid violent hands upon our own Sovereign;
 “we have ravished our Parliaments; we have deflowered
 “the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke,
 “an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of our own
 “countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bul-
 “warks of the people’s safety; we have broken often-
 “repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, pro-
 “testations; we have betrayed our trusts; we have vio-
 “lated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to hea-
 “ven deceitfully; and that these our sins might want no
 “aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we have
 “added hypocrisy to them all; and have not only, like
 “the audacious strumpet, wiped our mouths, and boasted
 “*that we have done no evil*; but in the midst of all our
 “abominations (such as are too bad to be named
 “amongst the worst of heathens) we have not wanted
 “impudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified:
 “let Jesus Christ be exalted: let his kingdom be ad-
 “vanced: let the Gospel be propagated: let the saints
 “be dignified: let righteousness be established: *Pudet*
 “*hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse*
 “*refelli.*

“Will not the holy One of Israel visit? will not the
 “righteous One punish? will not he, who is the true
 “and faithful One, be avenged for such things as these?
 “will he not, nay has he not already, come forth as a
 “swift

“ swift witness against us ? has he not whet his sword ?
 “ has he not bent his bow ? has he not prepared his qui-
 “ ver ? has he not already begun to shoot his arrows at
 “ us ? Who is so blind as not to see that the hand of the
 “ Almighty is upon us, and that his anger waxes hotter
 “ and hotter against us ? How have our hopes been
 “ blasted ? how have our expectations been disap-
 “ pointed ? how have our ends been frustrated ? All those
 “ pleasant gourds, under which we were sometimes so-
 “ lacing and caressing ourselves, how are they perished
 “ in a moment ? how are they withered in a night ? how
 “ are they vanished, and come to nothing ? Righteous is
 “ the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We
 “ have sown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind ;
 “ we have sown faction, and we have reaped confusion ;
 “ we have sown folly, and we have reaped deceit : when
 “ we looked for liberty, behold slavery ; when we ex-
 “ pected righteousness, behold oppression ; when we
 “ fought for justice, behold a cry, a great and a lament-
 “ able cry throughout the whole nation.

“ Every man’s hand is upon his loins, every one com-
 “ plaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and saying, I
 “ am pained, I am pained, pain and anguish, and sor-
 “ row, and perplexity of spirit, has taken hold upon me,
 “ like the pains of a woman in travail. Surely we may
 “ take up the lamentation of the prophet concerning
 “ this the land of our nativity. How does England fit
 “ solitary ? how is she become as a widow ? she, that
 “ was great amongst the nations, and princess among the
 “ provinces, how is she now become tributary ? She
 “ weepeth sore in the night ; her tears are on her cheeks ;
 “ amongst all her lovers she hath none to comfort her ;
 “ all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they
 “ are become her enemies ; she lifteth up her voice in

“ the streets, she crieth aloud in the gates of the city,
“ in the places of chief concourse, she sitteth, and thus
“ we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition ; Is
“ it nothing to you, all ye that pass by ? behold, and
“ see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which
“ is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted
“ me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my
“ transgressions is bound by his hands, they are wreathed,
“ and come up upon my neck ; he hath made my
“ strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their
“ hands from whom I am not able to rise up. The
“ Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in
“ the midst of me ; he hath called an assembly to crush
“ my young men ; he hath trodden me as in a wine-
“ press ; all that pass by clap their hands at me, they
“ hiss and wag their heads at me, saying, Is this the na-
“ tion that men call the perfection of beauty ? the joy
“ of the whole earth ? All mine enemies have opened
“ their mouths against me ; they hiss and gnash their
“ teeth ; they say, We have swallowed her up ; certainly
“ this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we
“ have seen it.

“ How are our bowels troubled ? how are our hearts
“ saddened ? how are our souls afflicted, whilst we hear
“ the groans whilst we see the desolation of our dear
“ country ? It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that Sion should
“ lie any longer in the dust. But, alas ! what shall we
“ do for her in this day of her great calamity ? We were
“ sometimes wise to pull down, but we now want art to
“ build ; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have
“ no skill to plant ; we were strong to destroy, but we
“ are weak to restore : whither shall we go for help ? or
“ to whom shall we address ourselves for relief ? If we
“ say, We will have recourse to Parliaments, and they
“ shall

“ shall save us ; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds
 “ shaken with the wind. They cannot save themselves.
 “ If we turn to the army, and say, They are bone of our
 “ bone, and flesh of our flesh, it may be they will at last
 “ have pity upon us, and deliver us ; behold, they are
 “ become as a rod of iron to bruise us, rather than a
 “ staff of strength to support us. If we go to him who
 “ had treacherously usurped, and does tyrannically ex-
 “ ercise an unjust power over us, and say to him, Free us
 “ from this yoke, for it oppresseth us, and from these
 “ burdens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our
 “ fathers ever were able to bear ; behold, in the pride
 “ and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, You are
 “ factious, you are factious ; if your burdens are heavy,
 “ I will make them yet heavier ; if I have hitherto chaf-
 “ tized you with whips, I will henceforward chastize you
 “ with scorpions.

“ Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from hill
 “ to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find
 “ no rest ; we look this way, and that way, but there is
 “ none to save, none to deliver. At last we begun to
 “ whisper, and but to whisper only, among ourselves,
 “ saying one to another, Why should we not return to
 “ our first husband ? Surely it will be better with us
 “ then, than it is now. At the first starting of this
 “ question amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many
 “ jealousies, many suspicions did arise within us. We
 “ were conscious to ourselves, that we had dealt un-
 “ kindly with him, that we had treacherously forsaken
 “ him, that we had defiled ourselves with other lovers,
 “ and that our filthiness was still upon our skirts : there-
 “ fore were we apt to conclude, if we do not return unto
 “ him, how can he receive us ? or if he does receive us,
 “ how can he love us ? how can he pardon the injuries

“ we have done unto him ? how can he forget the un-
“ kindness we have shewn unto him in the day of his
“ distress ?

“ We must confess (for we come not to deceive your
“ Majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that
“ these cowardly apprehensions did, for a while, make
“ some strong impressions upon us ; and had almost
“ frightened us out of our newly conceived thoughts of
“ duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they
“ vanished, and gave place to the more noble and heroic
“ considerations of common good, public safety, the
“ honour, peace, welfare, and prosperity of these na-
“ tions ; all which we are persuaded, and do find, though
“ by too late experience, are as inseparably and as natu-
“ rally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire, or
“ light in the sun. Contemning therefore and disdain-
“ ing the mean and low thoughts of our own private
“ safety, (which we have no cause to despair of, having
“ to deal with so good and so gracious a Prince), we
“ durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of
“ personal concernment ; but did think ourselves en-
“ gaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this
“ our humble address unto your Majesty, and to leave
“ ourselves at the feet of your mercy : yet, lest we
“ should seem to be altogether negligent of that first
“ good, though since dishonoured, cause, which God
“ has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of
“ the security of those, who, together with ourselves,
“ being carried away with the delusive and hypocritical
“ pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorant-
“ ly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concurrence
“ with those actions which may render them justly ob-
“ noxious to your Majesty’s indignation, we have pre-
“ sumed in all humility to offer unto your Majesty these
“ few

“ few propositions hereunto annexed ; to which if your
 “ Majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we
 “ do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God,
 “ before whose tribunal we know we must one day ap-
 “ pear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear
 “ unto us, for the restoring and reestablishing your Ma-
 “ jesty in the throne of your father ; and that we will
 “ never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to
 “ your Majesty’s commands to approve ourselves

“ Your Majesty’s

“ most humble, most faithful,

“ and most devoted subjects and servants,

“ *W. Howard.*

John Wildman.

“ *Ralph Jennings.*

John Aumigau.

“ *Edw. Penkaruan.*

Randolph Hedworth.

“ *John Hedworth.*

Thomas

“ *John Sturghion.*

Rich. Reynolds.

“ The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all humility Their pro-
 “ presented to your Majesty in these following ^{positions}
 “ proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and ^{annexed to} it
 “ well grounded peace in these your Majesty’s do-
 “ minions.

1. “ Forasmuch as the Parliament, called and con-
 “ vened by the authority of his late Majesty your
 “ royal father, in the year 1640, was never legally dis-
 “ solved, but did continue their sitting until the year
 “ 1648, at which time the army, violently and treason-
 “ ably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever since
 “ given a continued interruption to their session, by
 “ taking away the whole House of Lords, and secluding
 “ the greatest part of the House of Commons, it is there-
 “ fore humbly desired that (to the end we may be
 “ esta-

“ established upon the ancient basis and foundation of
 “ law) your Majesty would be pleased, by public procla-
 “ mations, as soon as it shall be judged seasonable, to
 “ invite all those persons, as well Lords as Commons,
 “ who were then sitting, to return to their places ; and
 “ that your Majesty would own them (so convened and
 “ met together) to be the true and lawful Parliament of
 “ England.

2. “ That your Majesty would concur with the Par-
 “ liament in the ratification and confirmation of all
 “ those things granted and agreed unto by the late
 “ King your father, at the last and fatal treaty in the
 “ Isle of Wight ; as also in the making and repealing of
 “ all such laws, acts, and statutes, as by the Parliament
 “ shall be judged expedient and necessary to be made,
 “ and repealed, for the better securing of the just and
 “ natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the
 “ obviating and preventing all dangerous and destruc-
 “ tive excesses of government for the future.

3. “ Forasmuch as it cannot be denied, but that our
 “ Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death and re-
 “ surrection, has purchased the liberties of his own
 “ people, and is thereby become their sole Lord and
 “ King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedi-
 “ ence in things spiritual ; we do therefore humbly be-
 “ seech your Majesty, that you would engage your
 “ royal word never to erect, nor suffer to be erected,
 “ any such tyrannical, Popish, and Antichristian hierar-
 “ chy, (Episcopal, Presbyterian, or by what name so-
 “ ever it be called), as shall assume a power over, or
 “ impose a yoke upon, the consciences of others ; but
 “ that every one of your Majesty’s subjects may here-
 “ after be left at liberty to worship God in such a way,
 “ form, and manner, as shall appear to them to be
 “ agreeable

“ agreeable to the mind and will of Christ, revealed in
“ his word, according to that proportion or measure of
“ faith and knowledge which they have received.

4. “ Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a burden
“ under which the whole nation groans in general, and
“ the people of God in particular, we would therefore
“ crave leave humbly to offer it to your Majesty’s
“ consideration, that, if it be possible, some other way
“ may be found out for the maintenance of that which
“ is called the national ministry; and that those of the
“ separated and congregated churches may not (as
“ hitherto they have been, and still are) be compelled
“ to contribute thereunto.

5. “ Forasmuch as in these times of licence, confu-
“ sion, and disorder, many honest, godly, and religious
“ persons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences
“ of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led,
“ either into the commission of, or compliance with,
“ many vile, illegal, and abominable actions, whereof
“ they are now ashamed; we do therefore most humbly
“ implore your Majesty, that an act of amnesty and
“ oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquit-
“ ting, and discharging all your Majesty’s long de-
“ ceived and deluded subjects, from the guilt and im-
“ putation of all crimes, treasons, and offences whatso-
“ ever, committed or done by them, or any of them,
“ either against your Majesty’s father, or yourself, since
“ the beginning of these unhappy wars, excepting only
“ such who do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls
“ himself Protector, or who, in justification of his or
“ any other interest, shall, after the publication of this
“ act of grace, continue and persevere in their disloyalty
“ to your Majesty.”

The gentleman who brought this address, and these
wild

wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the King from the gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions; and told this gentleman, "that, though the first address " could not be prepared but with those demands, which " might satisfy the whole party, and comprehend all " that was desired by any of them, yet if the King " gave them such an encouragement, as might dispose " them to send some of the wisest of them to attend " his Majesty, he would be able, upon conference " with them, to make them his instruments to reduce " the rest to more moderate desires, when they should " discern, that they might have more protection and " security from the King, than from any other power " that would assume the government." The letter was as followeth.

" May it please your Majesty,

The letter
to the King "
sent with
the addresss."

" Time, the great discoverer of all things, has at last unmasked the disguised designs of this mysterious age, and made that obvious to the dull sense of fools, " which was before visible enough to the quick-sighted " prudence of wise men, viz. that liberty, religion, and " reformation, the wonted engines of politicians, are but " deceitful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude " are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In " the unhappy number of these fools, I must confess " myself to have been one; who have nothing more " now to boast of, but only that, as I was not the first " was cheated, so I was not the last was undeceived; " having

“ having long since, by peeping a little (now and then,
“ as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impos-
“ tor, got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones, of
“ his ugly face, concealed under the painted pretences
“ of sanctity, as made me conclude, that the series of
“ affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would con-
“ vince this blinded generation of their errors; and
“ make them affrightedly to start from him, as a pro-
“ digious piece of deformity, whom they adored and
“ revered as the beautiful image of a deity.

“ Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who
“ glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged
“ the searcher of the inward parts, could no longer en-
“ dure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite;
“ but, to the astonishment and confusion of all his ido-
“ latrous worshippers, has, by the unsearchable wisdom
“ of his deep-laid counsels, lighted such a candle into
“ the dark dungeon of his soul, that there is none so
“ blind who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny,
“ perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypocrisy, and
“ all manner of villainy, written in large characters on
“ his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares
“ open his mouth in justification of him, for fear of in-
“ curring the deserved character of being a professed ad-
“ vocate for all wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all
“ virtue.

“ This was no sooner brought forth, but presently I
“ conceived hopes of being able, in a short time, to put
“ in practice those thoughts of loyalty to your Ma-
“ jesty, which had long had entertainment in my
“ breast, but till now were forced to seek concealment
“ under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of the
“ times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to these
“ designs

“ designs was happily administered by the following
“ occasion.

“ Great was the rage, and just the indignation of the
“ people, when they first found the authority of their
“ Parliament swallowed up in the new name of a Pro-
“ tector; greater was their fury, and upon better
“ grounds, when they observed, that under the silent,
“ modest, and flattering title of this Protector, was se-
“ cretly assumed a power more absolute, more arbitrary,
“ more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any
“ King. The pulpits straightways sound with decla-
“ mations, the streets are filled with pasquils and libels,
“ every one expresses a detestation of this innovation by
“ public invectives, and all the nation, with one accord,
“ seems at once to be inspired with one and the same
“ resolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that li-
“ berty, by arms and force, which was treacherously
“ stolen from them by deceit and fraud.

“ When they had for a while exercised themselves in
“ tumultuary discourses, (the first effects of popular
“ discontents), at length they begin to contrive by
“ what means to free themselves from the yoke that is
“ upon them. In order hereunto, several of the chiefest
“ of the malecontents enter into consultations amongst
“ themselves; to which they were pleased to invite and
“ admit me. Being taken into their councils, and made
“ privy to their debates, I thought it my work to ac-
“ quaint myself fully with the tempers, inclinations,
“ dispositions, and principles of them; which (though
“ all meeting and concentrating in an irreconcilable
“ hatred and animosity against the usurper) I find so
“ various in their ends, and so contrary in the means
“ conducing to those ends, that they do naturally fall
“ under

“ under the distinction of different parties. Some, drunk
“ with enthusiasms, and besotted with fanatic notions,
“ do allow of none to have a share in government besides
“ the saints; and these are called Christian Royalists,
“ or Fifth-Monarchy-Men. Others violently opposing
“ this, as destructive to the liberty of the free-born people,
“ strongly contend to have the nation governed
“ by a continual succession of Parliaments, consisting of
“ equal representatives; and these style themselves Commonwealth’s-Men. A third party there is, who finding, by the observation of these times, that Parliaments are better physic than food, seem to incline most to monarchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free the people from the fear of tyranny; and these are contented to suffer under the opprobrious name of Levellers: to these did I particularly apply myself; and after some few days’ conference with them in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours, as to prevail with some of them to lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon passion than judgment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your Majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them whom I knew to be leaders of the rest, as could safely be entrusted with a business of this nature, (the success whereof does principally depend upon the secret management of it), I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm and establish them, as well as I could, in their infant allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble address unto your Majesty, that they might not know how to make either a safe or honourable retreat.

“ I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy gentleman,

“ tleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to make
 “ answer to any such objections as may perhaps be
 “ made by your Majesty, either as to the matter or
 “ manner of it. This only I would put your Majesty
 “ in mind of, that they are but young profelytes, and
 “ are to be driven *lento pede*, lest, being urged at first
 “ too violently, they should resist the more refractorily.

“ As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say they
 “ are either of great families, or great estates. But this
 “ I am confident of, that, whether it be by their own vir-
 “ tue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not deter-
 “ mine, they are such who may be more serviceable to
 “ your Majesty in this conjuncture, than those whose
 “ names swell much bigger than theirs with the addition
 “ of great titles. I durst not undertake to persuade your
 “ Majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims
 “ your counsels are governed; but this I shall crave
 “ leave to say, that I have often observed, that a despe-
 “ rate game at chess has been recovered after the loss of
 “ the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and
 “ that the subscribers may not be of the same use to
 “ your Majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, espe-
 “ cially at such a time as this, when there is scarce any
 “ thing but pawns left upon the board, and those few
 “ others that are left may justly be complained of in
 “ the words of Tacitus, *præsentia et tuta, quam vetera,*
 “ *et periculosa, malunt omnes.*

“ I have many things more to offer unto your Ma-
 “ jesty, but fearing I have already given too bold a trou-
 “ ble, I shall defer the mention of them at present; in-
 “ tending, as soon as I hear how your Majesty resents this
 “ overture, to wait upon your Majesty in person, and then
 “ to communicate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring
 “ within the narrow compass of an address of this nature.

“ In

“ In the mean time, if our services shall be judged useful
 “ to your Majesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy
 “ course may be taken for the advance of two thousand
 “ pound, as well for the answering the expectation of
 “ those whom I have already engaged, as for the defray-
 “ ing of several other necessary expences, which do, and
 “ will every day inevitably come upon us in the profe-
 “ cution of our design.

“ What more is expedient to be done by your Ma-
 “ jesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction
 “ of those gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may
 “ be, brought over to the assistance of your Majesty’s
 “ cause and interest, I shall commit to the care of this
 “ honourable person; who being no stranger to the
 “ complexion and constitution of those with whom I
 “ have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your Ma-
 “ jesty by what ways and means they may be laid
 “ under the strongest obligations to your Majesty’s ser-
 “ vice.

“ For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing
 “ more, than only to give your Majesty a small essay of
 “ my zeal for, and absolute devotion to, your Majesty,
 “ so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but
 “ that you would be pleased to account me,

“ May it please your Majesty, &c.”

The King believed that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before; and, “ that he would be willing to confer with some
 “ persons of that party, trusted by the rest, if they
 “ would come over to him;” his Majesty being then at Bruges. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there

concealed. He was a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, but an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the University of Cambridge, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier in Cromwell's life-guard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic. But when that mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned into England very well satisfied with the King; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell: for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the King; which could not be in his power to supply.

While these things were transacting, the King found every day, that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a country that was so great a scene of war,

war, live unactive and unconcerned: so his Majesty sent to Don Juan, "that he would accompany him in the field the next campaign, without expecting any ceremony, or putting him to any trouble." But the Spaniards sent him a formal message, and employed the Earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said, "that they could not answer it to his Catholic Majesty, if they should permit his Majesty, when his two brothers were already in the army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own royal person; which they positively protested against." And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the Marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to Brussels; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, Burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the King, and being a man of excellent parts,

The King sent to Don Juan, "that he would accompany him into the field;" which is refused.

The King present in the attempt upon Mardike.

The King leaves Bruges; and removes to Brussels in the end of Feb. 1658.

and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Brussels, and never after returned to Bruges to reside there.

His Majesty was no sooner come thither, but Don Alonzo renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his Majesty willingly consented to, presuming that Sexby might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though they that sent the address well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the King, at least not

An account
of Sexby
and his ne-
gociation.

so soon. The man, for an illiterate person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troops, and was afterwards one of those agitators who were made use of to control the Parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he often admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations, and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army, and very much undervalue the credit and interest of the King's party; and made such demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which Don Alonzo concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the King would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into

into Spain to conclude there ; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the King. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that Spaniard, than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master of ten thousand pistoles ; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he got by his journey to Madrid ; which did not use to be of small expence to that Court.

Nothing that was yet to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men, that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their campaign, must be the siege of Dunkirk ; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good : besides, their contract with Cromwell was no secret ; yet the Spaniards totally neglected making provisions to defend it ; being persuaded by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the campaign with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis de Leyde, Governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had, in all respects, came to Brussels, having sent several expresses thither to no purpose, to solicit for supplies. He told them, “ that his intelligence was infallible, that Marshal Turenne was ready to march, and that the French King himself would be in the field to countenance the siege of Dunkirk, which he could not defend, if he were not supplied with men, ammunition, and victual ;” of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply ; they telling him, “ that he would not be besieged ; that they were sure the French meant to attempt Cambray ;” which they

The Marquis de Leyde came to Brussels to solicit for supplies for Dunkirk, but in vain.

provided the best they could, and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they would relieve him with their army, and fight a battle before he should be in danger." Being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and came to take his leave of the King as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his Majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said, "he was going to defend a town without men, without ammunition, and without victual, against a very strong and triumphant army; that, if he could have obtained supplies in any reasonable degree, he should have been able to have entertained them some time; but in the condition he was in, he could only lose his life there; which he was resolved to do:" and spoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Dunkirk
besieged by
the French
army.

Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before Dunkirk; and then the Spaniard believed it; and made what haste they could to draw their army together, which was very much dispersed, so that, before they were upon their march, the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. Now they found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the Spaniards had taken a full view of the posture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, Don Juan, and the Marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the army should be ranged; which the Prince of Condé dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marshal Turenne would do in that case; "and that he would still maintain the siege, and give them likewise battle upon the advan-

The Prince
of Condé's
advice to
the Span-
iards not
hearkened
to.

"tage

“tage of the ground; whereas, if they would place
 “their army near another part of the line, they should
 “easily have communication with the town, and compel
 “the French to fight with more equal hazards.”

It might very reasonably be said of the Prince of Condé and Marshal Turenne, what a good Roman historian said heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius; that “*in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis fecere*”; “they had in the same armies learned that discipline, “and those stratagems, which they afterwards practised “against each other in enemy armies;” and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the Prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, “if “we do not make great haste to possess such a pass,” (which they never thought of,) “Marshal Turenne will “take it, though it be much farther from him;” and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own troops to possess the place, even when the French were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish army from many distresses. And Marshal Turenne had the same caution, and governed himself according as the Prince of Condé was in the rear or van of the army; and, upon the matter, only considered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable instance two years before, when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the Duke of York was present with Marshal Turenne. The Spaniards had made themselves so very strong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not

compel them to fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the line. Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the Duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the line very frequently, that some of his company were killed within much less than musquet shot. In the end, he called some of the principal officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, assault the line," at a place which he shewed to them; which the officers wondered at; and said, "it was the strongest part of the line; and that they had observed to him, that the whole line on the other side was very much weaker:" to which the Marshal replied, "You do not know who keeps that line; we shall do no good there; Monsieur le Prince never sleeps, and that is his post; but I will tell you, what will fall out on the other side;" for he had himself marched in the Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it. He told them then, "that it would be very long, before the soldiers upon the line, or the adjacent guard, would believe that the French were in earnest, and that they would in truth at that time of day assault them; but would think, that they meant only to give them an alarm; which they were never warm in receiving: that when the Spaniards were convinced that the French were in earnest, in which time he should be got near their line, they would send to the Count of Fuenfaldagna, who at that time of day was usually asleep, and his servants would not be persuaded to waken him in a moment. He would then send for his horse, and ride up to the line; which when he saw, he would with

" some

“some haste repair to the Archduke’s tent; who was likewise at his Siefto, and when he was awake, they would consult what was to be done; by which time,” the Marshal said, “they should have done:” and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the Prince of Condé was in so good order upon the first alarm, that when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

Notwithstanding the advice which the Prince of Condé had given, Don Juan was positive in his first resolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most inclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. Our King’s foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the inclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The Dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (whom, though enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well), and with great difficulty, and some blows

blows of musquets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army, that the Duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his Highness.

Don Juan
after the loss
of the battle
retires to
Ypres.

The Mar-
quis de
Leyde fal-
lies upon
the enemy;
is repulsed,
and slain.

The day being thus lost with a greater rout and confusion than loss of men, Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the Prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the Duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken; which was the present business of Marshal Turenne; who found the Marquis de Leyde resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the Spanish army was retired into fastness. The Marquis de Leyde, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from Don Juan, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally upon the enemy; who, though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived.

lived. The Marquis was a much greater loss than the town; which the master of the field may be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth the death of the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety, after his way; inasmuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the Church; to which he was most devoted.

Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of their army. The French King, being by this time come to the camp with the Cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. Thus the treaty was performed between them; and that King went presently to Calais, and from thence sent the Duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the Cardinal, to London to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son in law, the Lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with that King for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligations "never to make peace without each other's consent."

When Don Juan had first removed from Brussels, and the army marched into the field, the King had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His Majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Brussels, whilst all the world was in action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk,
and

The King
retires to
Hochstraten in Au-
gust.

and the loss of that place. So he removed to a village called Hochstraten; where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his Court. Thither the King went about the month of August; the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda, sometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the subjects in the States' dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstraten is an open village belonging to the Count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the manor large of extent, and of great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great licence, it is so poor, that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the King, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the King of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander), the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good linen, and some plate in every house;

the

the people jolly, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed with extreme barrenness, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lies equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all licence upon their poor neighbours of Hochstraten; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

Whilst the King spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the Duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as Don Juan, and the rest, remained about Furnes and Bruges, sent an express to the King to let him know, "that the letters from England, and some passengers, reported confidently that Cromwell was dead;" which, there having been no news of his sickness, was not at first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his Majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Brussels, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

The King has notice that Cromwell was dead.

The King returns to Brussels upon it.

It had been observed in England, that, though from the dissolution of the last Parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and

Cromwell's affairs some time before his death.

and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be. Inasmuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his guards both before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

Synder-
come's de-
sign against
him a good
while be-
fore this.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had discovered the design of Syndercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe, that a party in the army would attempt his rescue; where-

whereupon he gave strict charge, "that he should be
"carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or four of
"the guard always with him day and night."

At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of, were placed upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called Syndercome to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice: nor could he suppress that scandal. It appeared upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and upon her going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, and said, "this was the last bed he should ever go into." His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the Earl of Warwick; with whom he had a fast friendship; though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end; the other branches of it abhorring
his

The death
of the Earl
of War-
wick, and
of the Earl's
grandson.

The death
of Crom-
well's
daughter
Claypole.

his alliance. His domestic delights were lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypole; who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude, that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least shew of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

Cromwell
seized on by
an ague in
August.

Whatever it was, about the middle of August, he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated: so that he returned again to Whitehall, when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die, till even the time that his spi-

He appoints
his son
Richard his
successor;
and expires
Sept. 3.

rits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his eldest son "Richard;" and so expired upon the third day of September 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories. And this now was a day very

memo-

memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea; and the tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for, besides the wrecks all along the sea-coast, many boats were cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was universally known.

The terrible
storm on
the same
day.

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*; whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family), without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*: he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired

His cha-
racter.

more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty ; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander by : yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested Protector by the humble Petition and Advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it ; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority ; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part ; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, " as an imposition notoriously against the law, and the property of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend." Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory

mory of "the old kindness, and friendship, that had
"been between them; and that of all men he did not
"expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was
"so necessary for the good of the commonwealth." It
had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude
and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly
been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly
put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his
own, in cases of the like nature: so this man remem-
bered him, how great an enemy he had expressed him-
self to such grievances, and had declared, "that all who
"submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more
"to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than
"they who had imposed them; and that the tyranny
"of princes could never be grievous, but by the tame-
"ness and stupidity of the people." When Cromwell
saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that
"he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try
"which of them two should be master." Thereupon,
with some expressions of reproach and contempt, he
committed the man to prison; whose courage was no-
thing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he
brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, which
they then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, who was
of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with
great confidence, both upon the illegality of the com-
mitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being
laid without any lawful authority. The judges could
not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what
their sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's
attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been
urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to
the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of
his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely

reprehended for suffering that licence ; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and Magna Charta, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt and derision, “ their Magna F—— should not control his actions ; which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth.” He asked them, “ who made them judges ? whether they had any authority to sit there, but what he gave them ? and if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves ; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them ;” and so dismissed them with caution, “ that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear.”

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster Hall as obedient, and subservient to his commands, as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used great civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates ; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at
the

the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily risen in arms against the Duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the Pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their Prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman Catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia; " and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in "Rome,") that the Duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder

that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was ; to which they answered, " they were " there to give their voices for the choice of the new " consuls, and to be sure that the election should be " fairly made." The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musquet-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded ; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided ; in order to which they sent an express to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, " and that there appeared to be no man- " ner of combination with those of the religion in other " places of the province ; but that it was an insolence " in those of the place, upon the presumption of their " great numbers, which were little inferior to those of " the Catholics." The Court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many

many of them for ever out of the city ; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France ; with whom they were heartily offended ; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves ; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, “ that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage ; but they could say nothing upon the subject, till the King’s pleasure should be known ; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed.” The others very well knew what the King’s pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpellier, to Cromwell to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him “ refresh himself after so long a journey, and “ he would take such care of his business, that by “ the time he came to Paris he should find it dispatched ;” and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart ; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the Cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes ; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon

and amnesty from the King, under the Great Seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder, that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the Cardinal; alleging, "that the people would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited Madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the King to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniard; and if he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic."

The conclusion of his character.

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government," but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire

is

is prepared, for he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated ; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XVI.

ZECH. xi. 4, 5, 6.

*Thus saith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the slaughter ;
Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty : and
they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord ; for I am rich :
and their own shepherds pity them not.
But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's
band, and into the band of his king.*

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never submit to be under him. Besides the expectation the King had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in it, and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from Cromwell's death might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title, seemed a reasonable expectation :

The beginning of Richard's government.

tion: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son is proclaimed his lawful successor; the army congratulate their new General, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service, than they were for his father's; and most counties in England, by addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new Sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His son inherits all his greatness, and all his glory, without the public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new Protector: so that the King's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which now seemed to blast all their hopes, and confirm their utmost despair.

It is probable that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have fate still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his Council thought it necessary that he should call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made with the Crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the spring to send a
strong

strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that King against Denmark; at least to induce Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector sent out his writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him; and sent out his writs to call those as Peers who had constituted the other House in the former Parliament; and so both Lords and Commons met at the day assigned.

He calls a Parliament to meet Jan. 27, 1659.

It meets on that day.

Richard came to the Parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had done; and sent the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to the Commons, that they should attend him in the other House; where, first by himself, and then by the Keeper of his Great Seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain, and the assistance of the King of Sweden in the Sound. He had so good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons signed an Engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner inclosed within those walls, than there appeared the old republican spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It begun with enquiring into the accounts, how the money had been spent, and into the offices of Excise and Customs, and what was become of all that revenue. When they were called upon to settle the act of recognition, to confirm Richard, and his authority in the state, they would first inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other House; which they would by no means

The business recommended to them by the Protector.

Differences rise in the House of Commons about the accounts of money, and about the other House, &c.

means allow to be a part of the government already established, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this argument they exercised themselves with great licence, as well upon the creator of those Peers, and the power of the late Protector, as upon his creatures the Peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to. They put the House in mind, "how grievous it had been to the kingdom, that the Bishops had sate in the House of Peers, because they were looked upon as so many votes for the King; which was a reason much stronger against these persons; who were all the work of the Protector's own hand, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his interest." They concluded, "that they could not, with good consciences, and without the guilt of perjury, ever consent, that that other House should have any part in the government, since they had all taken the Engagement, that there should be no more any House of Peers, and since the office of Protector had been and might still continue without it."

It was carried, that the other House should be allowed.

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the House, "that they would meet, and confer with the other House, as a part of the Parliament, during this present Parliament; and likewise, that such other persons, as had a right to come to that other House, and had not forfeited it by their breach of trust," (by which they meant those lords who had been always against the King,) "should not be restrained from coming thither:" yet the temper of the House of Commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things

were

were done, which looked like condescension to the royal party ; but more for the countenance of the Presbyterians ; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a republic, was looked upon as favourable to the Protector.

The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new Council of Officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to consult with them ; they neither liked Protector, nor Parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either : yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him ; in which they complained of “ the great arrears of pay that were due to the army, by which they were in great straits : that “ they, who had borne the brunt of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now “ undervalued, derided, and laid aside : that the good “ old cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by Malig- “ nants and disaffected persons ; who grew every day “ more insolent, and their numbers increased, by the “ resort out of Flanders, and other places ; and they “ had several secret meetings in the city of London : “ that the names of all those who had sate upon the “ late King as his judges, were lately printed, and scattered abroad, as if they were designed to destruction ; “ and that many suits were commenced at common “ law against honest men, for what they had transacted “ in the war as soldiers : that those famous acts which “ had been performed in the long Parliament, and by “ the late Protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified.

A new Council of Officers met, who consult about the government.

Their address to Richard April 6, 1659.

“fied. By all which,” they said, “it was very manifest, “that the good old cause was declined; which they “were resolved to assert. And therefore they be- “fought his Highness to represent those their com- “plaints to the Parliament, and to require proper and “speedy remedies.”

The city militia second them.

This address was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, on April 6th, 1659; which was no sooner known, than Tichburn and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise a remonstrance, and sent it to the Council of Officers; in which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for what they called the nation's good.

Votes of the Parliament upon it.

The Parliament was quickly alarmed with these cabals of the army and the city; which Richard was as much terrified with as they. In order to the suppression thereof, the Parliament voted, “that there should be “no meeting, or general Council of Officers, without “the Protector's consent, and by his order: and, that “no person should have commands by sea or land, in “either of the three nations, who did not immediately “subscribe, that he would not disturb the free meeting “of Parliaments, or of any members in either House of “Parliament; nor obstruct their freedom in debates “and counsels.” These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford House, where the Council of Officers then sat.

These officers were men who resolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood

wood and Desborough to Richard (the first had married his sister; the other was his uncle; both raised by Cromwell) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard of the nearness of their alliance, and their obligation to and dependence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, "to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; which," he said, "would inevitably fall out, if the Parliament were not presently dissolved." Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was impossible for him to keep both the Parliament and the army his friends;" wished him "to choose which he would prefer: if he dissolved the Parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall."

The officers advise him to dissolve the Parliament.

The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive counsel. Besides many members of the Parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance, "that the Parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to the Parliament; but if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a friend; and they who had compelled him to do so imprudent an action would condemn him when he had done it:" some officers of the army likewise, of equal courage and interest with any of the rest, persuaded him "to reject the desire of those who called themselves the Council of the Army, and to think of punishing

Advice to Richard to the contrary:

And of some officers of the army.

“ their presumption.” Ingoldſby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and, the two former, men of ſignal courage, offered to ſtand by him ; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, (whom they looked upon as the author of this conſpiracy), if he would give him a warrant to that purpoſe.

He is prevailed with to diſſolve the Parliament.

Richard continued irrefolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, Deſborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to ſign a commiſſion, which they had cauſed to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his Keeper of the Seal, to diſſolve the Parliament the next morning ; of which the Parliament having notice, they reſolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes ſent for them to the other Houſe, the Commons ſhut the door of their Houſe, and would not ſuffer the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod to come in, but adjourned themſelves for three days, till the five and twentieth of April, imagining that they ſhould by that time convert the Protector from deſtroying himſelf. But the poor creature was ſo hared by the Council of Officers, that he preſently cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be diſſolved. And from that minute nobody reſorted to him, nor was the name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in deriſion ; the Council of Officers appointing guards to attend at Weſtminſter, which kept out thoſe members, who, in purſuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the Houſe upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme puſillanimity, the ſon ſuffered himſelf to be ſtripped, in one moment, of all the greatneſs and power, which the father had acquired in ſo many years, with wonderful courage, induſtry, and reſolution.

He iſſues out a proclamation to that purpoſe ; whereupon his Protectorſhip was at an end.

When the Council of Officers had, with this ſtrange ſucceſs,

success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior; or, as the phrase then was, removed the *single person*; they knew that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe, and those other officers, who had dissuaded Richard from submitting to their advice, from having any command in the army; which they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Oliver, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republican to their wish; and, that the government might return to be purely such, they published a Declaration upon the sixth of May, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and accusing themselves, "for having been instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ills, the commonwealth had sustained, had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future;" they remembered, "that the long Parliament, consisting of those members who had continued to sit till the twentieth of April 1653," (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the House, and dismissed them,) "had been eminent assertors of that cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work." They said, "that the desires of many good people concurring with them, they did, by that Declaration, according to their duty, invite those members to return to the discharge of their trust, as they had done before that day;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and securing

The Council of Officers restore Lambert, &c. to the army, and remove many of Cromwell's friends.

They issue a declaration to restore the long Parliament, May 6.

“the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, for
 “which they had now so good an opportunity.”
 And this Declaration, within very few days, they seconded with what they called *The humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contained several advices, or rather positive directions how they were to govern.

This restoring the Rump Parliament was the only way in which they could most agree, though it was not suitable to what some of them desired: they well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving members of that Parliament would pretend a title to sit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the House. When Lenthall, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the Declaration, took their places in the House, and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the House was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons, who well knew all the members, to inform the guards, who were, and who were not, to go into the House. By this means that cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again, seemed to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

Some of the old excluded members went into the House with them, but were excluded again.

We must, for the better observation and distinction
 of

of the several changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repossessed of it, by the style they called themselves, the Parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a Protector, or the name of a Protector, in being, and residing in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope they would be his good masters, first to enquire into the state of his debts, and then to demand of him, whether he acquiesced in the present government? He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, "in which, he said, was contained the state of his debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

The Parliament sent to Richard to know whether he acquiesced, and submitted to their authority.

To the other question, his answer was likewise in writing; "that he trusted, his carriage and behaviour had manifested his acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the peace of the commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same witness; he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a change in the government of the nation, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men

“ he might expect protection from the present government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had interest should do the same.”

This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was Lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the frankness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the Parliament. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow, and four other commissioners.

Henry Cromwell likewise submits, and resigns his commission of Lieutenant of Ireland. The Parliament makes Ludlow, and four other commissioners, Governors of Ireland.

It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable Richard, though it happened long afterwards; because there will be scarce again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the King's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the King; who thought it not necessary to enquire after a man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend

attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party; and pitched upon Geneva. Making his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc, he passed through Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the Prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then Governor of Languedoc, made his residence in it.

In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all strangers who came to that town
"used to wait upon the Prince of Conti, the Governor
"of the province; who expected it, and always treated
"strangers, and particularly the English, with much civility: that he need not be known, but that he himself would first go to the Prince and inform him,
"that another English gentleman was passing through
"that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have
"the honour to kiss his hands." The Prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. "Well," said the Prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was
"a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was
"worthy

“worthy to command: but that Richard, that coxcomb, “*coquin, poltron*, was surely the basest fellow alive. What “is become of that fool? how was it possible he could be “such a sot?” He answered, “that he was betrayed by “those whom he most trusted, and who had been most “obliged by his father;” so being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the Prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the King’s restoration.

Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them.

So does the navy.

They continued Lockhart ambassador in France.

They send ambassadors to mediate peace between the two northern Crowns.

They pass an act of indemnity to the army.

Monk from Scotland presented his obedience to the Parliament, and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command, to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered their submission. The ambassadors who were in the town quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them, as their good allies, making all the professions to them, which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. The Parliament continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the intrigues of that Court. They sent ambassadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between those two Crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expence abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. That they might thoroughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions

transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of the Parliament's former dissolution, and of all the mischief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and their government well settled, to the general content of the people of their party, who testified the same by their acclamations, and likewise by particular addresses. And, that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make that impossible, as they thought, they appointed "the Speaker to execute ^{They appoint all commissions military to be signed by the Speaker.} "the office of General, in such manner as they should direct; and that all commissions should be granted by "him, and sealed with their own seal;" all the seals used by the Cromwells being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) delivered up their commissions, and took new ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

But these men had not fate long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the King's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority with themselves. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less control exercise their tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. So they made a present order, "to banish all
" who

They banish all Cavaliers 20 miles from London.

“ who had ever manifested any affection to the King, or “ his father, twenty miles from London ;” and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forborne to execute ; by which many persons were committed to prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another classis, to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new General ; and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure ; and the officers thought they had deserved more than an act of indemnity, for restoring them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as the Parliament remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

The King's party begins to move.

This universal temper raised the spirits again of the King's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the Parliament, and been afterwards disobliged both by Cromwell and the Rump Parliament, very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's reestablishment. Those members of the long Parliament, who, after the treaty of the Isle of Wight, were by violence kept from the House, took it in great indignation, that they, upon whom the said violence was practised afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new governors ; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the soldiers ; who declared, “ that, if there were any
“ com-

“ commotion in the kingdom, they would go no farther
 “ to suppress it, than Lenthal should lead them.”

Mr. Mordaunt, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man; and was so well trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdom, “ that if the King would assign them a day,
 “ and promise to come to them after they were emboldened,
 “ died, they would not fail to appear at the day.”

Whereupon, Mr. Mordaunt ventured himself to come in disguise to the King to Brussels, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the King most relied, to encourage other men, and to desire that his Majesty would, by him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England, where there was not a formed undertaking by the most powerful men of that county, to possess themselves of some considerable place in it; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the government, to be settled in it.

Mr. Mordaunt comes to Brussels to acquaint the King with the preparations.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation, and likewise of the good affection of the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of Sir Horatio Townsend: who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest

A design of surprizing Lynne by the Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townsend.

terest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of the war, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow money; and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the King's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

And a design upon Gloucester by Maffey.

Another design, which was looked upon as ripe too, was the surprisal of Gloucester, a town very advantageously situated upon the river of Severn, that would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester; both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure, as soon as Gloucester should be possessed; which Major General Maffey, who had been formerly Governor thereof, and defended it too well against the King, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the King an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

The gentlemen of Shropshire ready.

Sir George Booth undertakes Chester.

Sir Thomas Middleton to join with him.

The Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury; and, for the making that communication perfect, Sir George Booth, a person of one of the best fortunes and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And Sir Thomas Middleton, who had like-

wife

wife served the Parliament, and was one of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with Sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the King's party in those counties. In the West, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, Trelawny, and the rest of the King's friends in Cornwall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plymouth, but were sure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the North, by men very ready to venture all they had.

In the West, designs upon Plymouth and Exeter.

When the King received this account in gross from a person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security), and likewise found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "that, though any discovery should be made, and any persons imprisoned, the rest would proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the King," his Majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon such a day of the month; and that his brother the Duke of York should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There happened at this time the discovery of a vile treachery, which had done the King's affairs much harm; and, had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. From the death of Oliver, some of those who were in the secretest part of his affairs discerned evidently, that their new Protector would never be able

A discovery of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis.

to

to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the King, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy, Mr. Moreland, sent an express to the King, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him some advices, what his Majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his service to his Majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised the King of a person who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large
" pension from Cromwell, and that he continually gave
" Thurlow intelligence of all that he knew; but that it
" was with so great circumspection, that he was never
" seen in his presence: that in his contract he had pro-
" mised to make such discoveries, as should prevent any
" danger to the state; but that he would never endan-
" ger any man's life, nor be produced to give in evi-
" dence against any: and that this very person had dis-
" covered the Marquis of Ormond's being in London
" the last year, to Cromwell; but could not be induced
" to discover where his lodging was; only undertook
" his journey should be ineffectual, and that he should
" quickly return; and then they might take him if they
" could; to which he would not contribute." To conclude, his Majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King, and they who were most trusted by him
in

in his secret transactions, believed not this information ; The King at first believes it not. but concluded that it was contrived to amuse him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were entrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused was Sir Richard Willis ; who had from the beginning to the end of the war, except at Newark, given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. The character of the person accused. He was a gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the King had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his friends would have thought he had received ill insinuations without any ground ; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the Marquis of Ormond, who had communicated more with him, than with any man in England, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations and advices, that were sent by the person who accused him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majesty's service ; and the offices that gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money ; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good, that he expected no reward, till the King should be enabled to give it ; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman, who did not look for the charges of his journey : and how could it have been known to Cromwell, that that person had been trusted by the Marquis of Ormond, if he had not discovered it himself ?

In this perplexity, his Majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the gentleman accused.

As

The accuser
clearly
proves the
thing by
letters, &c.

As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the infidelity of that gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from him, but the evidence of his hand-writing; " which was well known." This messenger no sooner

returned to London, but another was dispatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt.

A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the King's party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Massie's design upon Gloucester, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the King's councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the person of the King.

It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to communicate this treachery to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light;

light ; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Brussels, and informed his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before ; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that some message might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one), “ who, he said, were principally trusted by his Majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary and “ incredulous, that others were more discouraged by “ their coldness :” and therefore wished, “ that they “ might be quickened, and required to concur with the “ most forward.” Hereupon the King asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming Sir Richard Willis : Mr. Mordaunt answered, “ it was of him they complained principally ; who, they thought, was the cause “ of all the wariness in the rest ; who looked upon him “ not only as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and “ discreet man ; and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him ; and he was so much given “ to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making “ things unpracticable, that most men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him.” The King asked him, “ whether he had any suspicion of his want “ of honesty ?” The other answered, “ that he was so far “ from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take “ him to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes “ and contradictions frequently between them, he would “ put his life into his hand to-morrow.”

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man ; and therefore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he

The King communicates the discovery to Mr. Mordaunt.

had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the King charged him “no farther to communicate with that person, and to give his friends such caution, as might not give a greater disturbance to his affairs, by raising new factions amongst them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which it was in his power to do.” But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the person who gave the King the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to look upon Sir Richard Willis as faithful to the King, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

The discoverer publishes papers to forewarn the King's friends of this person.

It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of July; there being commissions in every county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces, who had a superior commission from the King. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the King's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a state of affairs, could be advised.

The King, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be

be at Calais; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at Brussels, that his Majesty had left the town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France, as in England. Therefore, as the King went out in the morning, so the Duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way: his Highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his command in the army. The King went attended by the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides), and two or three servants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and so they found their way to Calais; where they stayed. The Duke of York, with four or five of his own menial servants, and the Lord Langdale, who desired to attend his Highness, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The King goes to Calais.

The Duke of York to Boulogne.

The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect; every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons, throughout the kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the year, being the middle of July. The night before, there had been an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons over England, who were drawing to their appointed rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

The disappointment of all the designs in England.

Mafley seized on; but escapes.

In the beginning of the night, when Mafley was going for Gloucester, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. - But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill, with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the soldier, who was upon the same horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon strong places, only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by Sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townsend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt. Only Sir George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county, of those who had never been of the King's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night, and the next morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet Sir George being himself there with a good troop of horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and

Sir

Sir George Booth seized Chester, and Sir Thomas Middleton joins with him.

Sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Then they published their Declaration, rather against ^{Their Declaration.} those who called themselves the Parliament, and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the King's interest. They said, "that, since
 " God had suffered the spirit of division to continue in
 " this nation, which was left without any settled foundation of religion, liberty, and property, the legislative
 " power usurped at pleasure, the army raised for its defence misled by their superior officers, and no face of
 " government remaining, that was lawfully constituted;
 " therefore, they, being sensible of their duty, and utter
 " ruin, if these distractions should continue, had taken
 " arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliaments, of
 " the known laws, liberty, and property, and of the
 " good people of this nation groaning under insupportable taxes: that they cannot despair of the blessing of
 " God, nor of the cheerful concurrence of all good people, and of the undeceived part of the army; whose
 " arrears and future advancement they would procure, suffering no imposition or force on any man's conscience." But though they mentioned nothing of his Majesty in express terms, they gave all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the King's party; who had directions from the King to concur, and to unite themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. They who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves

to march to Chester, if Sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the work too soon; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which, they knew, were devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself esteemed brave upon any action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that Sir George Booth found he was within less than a day's march, before he thought he could

The Parliament sends Lambert against them.

could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle), and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short encounter, routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the gates of Chester were opened to Lambert; Sir George Booth himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

Who routs
Sir George
Booth and
takes Chester.

Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither Sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong castle of his own; and he thought neither the man, nor the place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one man to oppose the whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making shew of resistance, Middleton accepted such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly house, for the strength of the situation, to be pulled down.

Sir Thomas
Middleton
delivers up
his castle.

This success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to make all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the Parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the nobility being at

present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that the very suspecting them should be sufficient reason to continue them there.

When the King came to Calais, where he received accounts every day from England of what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of Sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and some other counties, stood fair; whereupon the King resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of England, where, with least hazard, he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him, and so went to the coast of Bretagne.

The King
removes to
the coast of
Bretagne.

The Duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex; which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. In this expectation, his Royal Highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend Marshal Turenne; who very frankly assigned him some troops; and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the borders of Spain, should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his Highness was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the King, after his visiting St. Maloes, was at
Rochelle,

The Duke
of York con-
fers with
Monsieur
Turenne;
who offers
assistance.

Rochelle, in hope to find a conveniency for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of Sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the Parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations, as ever Cromwell had been.

The King receives news of Sir George Booth's defeat.

Struck with this dismal relation, the King and his brother seemed to have nothing else to do, but to make what haste they could out of France; where it was thought they could not now be found with safety. The Duke of York returned speedily to Brussels; but the King, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a journey himself to the borders of Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies; the two chief ministers of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at Brussels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards there; who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves, that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the Marquis of Carracena and Don Alonzo had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that Don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the Marquis of Carracena; which Don Juan very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces, and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education,

The Duke returns to Brussels.

The King resolves to be at the meeting of the two favourites of the two Crowns.

Don Juan recalled to Spain.

education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his pleasure, he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

I said before, the chief ministers of the two Crowns were now met on the borders of the two kingdoms. For, this year, something had happened abroad, that, as it was new, might seem to administer new hopes to raise the King's spirits; however, it was a subject for men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two Crowns of France and Spain, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the Princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the Crowns, (besides the natural animosity, which will always be between the two nations), who would try the mastery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their masters' treasure, and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war prosecuted only for war's sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the Queen of France), when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

It

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel war, which the Queen Mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young King being of years ripe to marry, and the Infanta of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her Majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass; and knowing well, all her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required; conjuring him "by all the good offices she had performed towards him, that he would not only consent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into such a way of negociation, that it might arrive at the issue she desired."

The Queen Mother of France designs to put an end to the war between the two Crowns by a treaty and marriage. She advises the Cardinal to concur in it.

The Cardinal used all the arguments he could, to dissuade her Majesty from desiring it at this time; "that it would not be for her Majesty's service; nor was he able to bear the reproach, of being the instrument of making a peace, at a time when Spain was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer resist the victorious arms of France; that they could not fail the next summer of being possessed of Brussels itself, and then they should not be long without the rest of the Spanish Netherlands; and therefore, at this time, to propose a peace, which must disappoint them of so sure a conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the army, but incense all good Frenchmen against him, and against her Majesty herself."

His arguments against it.

The Queen was not diverted from her purpose by those arguments; but proposed it to the King, and prosecuted

But at last
he yields to
her purpose.
The treaty
is transacted
first *incog-
nito* at Paris
and Ma-
drid.

secuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her Majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and Don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and Monsieur de Lyonne from France, so negociated this last winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making several journeys backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the winter, it was published, there would be a treaty between the two Crowns, and that, in the beginning of the summer of this year 1659, the two favourites, Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace, and the marriage.

The reasons
that moved
the Cardi-
nal to yield
to this
peace.

The Cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted by his father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances, broke all his measures. He could not forget that the Parliament, that now governed, were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spanish side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it could not but have relieved Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well, that Spain did, at that instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that war, at so vast a charge both at sea and land; but that they would rather foment the divisions in France,

France, and endeavour to unite the Prince of Condé and the Hugonots ; which would make a concussion in that kingdom ; and he should then have cause to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the English. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he should best provide for the security of France, and of himself, by making a peace with Spain.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to Oliver, again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic,) “ that he would never make a peace without the consent and inclusion of England ;” and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the Parliament, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate ; insinuating to him, in broken and half sentences, “ that though the treaty was necessary to satisfy the Queen, “ there were so many difficulties in view, that he had little “ hope of a peace ;” and, in truth, many sober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce a peace : for, besides the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French, which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war ; which France would never permit), there were two particulars which it was hard to find any expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reserved for the

His promises to Lockhart touching his adhering to the Parliament.

Two particulars of difficulty in the treaty referred to the personal conference between the favourers of the treaty.

treaty of the two favourites; both sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

The first,
the business
of Portugal.

The two particulars were those concerning Portugal, and the Prince of Condé. There could not be a greater engagement, than France had made to Portugal, never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that King should quietly enjoy his government to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

The second,
that of the
Prince of
Condé.

On the other hand, the Prince of Condé had the King of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but with some farther recompence for the great service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the Cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that Prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, very near the borders of France, the same place where Francis the First was delivered, after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview;

Fuentarabia the
place of interview.

interview; a little river near that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the two favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his master's dominions.

The fame of this treaty, as soon as it was agreed to, had yielded variety, and new matter to the King to consider. Both Crowns had made the contention and war that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that assistance, which, in a case so nearly relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from that war, they would manifest to the world, that they took the King's case to be their own: so that his Majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expence of an ambassador, that his Majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that treaty; The King resolves to be present at it. which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from Sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, "that he speaking
 "with Don Lewis about his journey to Fuentarabia,
 "and asking him whether he would give him leave to
 "wait on him thither, Don Lewis answered, that he
 "should do well to be present; and then asked him,
 "why the King himself would not be there; and two
 "or three days after, he told him, that if the King,
 "with a very light train, came *incognito* thither, for
 "the place could not permit them to receive him in
 "state, after the great difficulties of the treaty were
 "over,

“over, he would do all he could to induce the Cardinal “to concur in what might be of convenience to his “Majesty.” The King had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expences, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature of the Cardinal, than from the sincerity of Don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his Majesty had written to the Queen his mother, to entreat her, “as of herself, to desire the Cardinal’s advice, whether it would not be fit for the King to “be present at the treaty; that she might send his “Majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought “well of it, she might then propose such passes, as “should seem reasonable to her.” Her Majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, “that it was by no means fit; and that it “would do the King much harm;” and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the Queen “to let the “King know, that he should rely upon him to take “care of what concerned him; which he would not “fail

Cardinal
Mazarine
advises
against it.

“ fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the treaty, “ would produce a peace.” Her Majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him ; but would by no means that his Majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself ; nor did the Queen imagine that the King would ever think of it without a pass, and the Cardinal’s approbation.

When his Majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a pass. And thus far, in the beginning of this last spring, before any design of rising in England was ripened, his Majesty had proceeded in his intention of being personally present at the conference between the two great ministers. But now, when all his expectations from England for this year were defeated, and when he himself was already advanced far into France, he thought it more necessary than ever to take up his former resolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertised, that the favourites had been met a considerable time, and were entered so far into the treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a cessation of arms, his Majesty, attended by the same company he had then with him, the Marquis of Ormond, Daniel O’Neile, and two or three other servants, together with the Earl of Bristol, (though Sir Harry Bennet had before informed the King, that Don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired he would not bring that Earl with him ; whose company yet, in respect of his language, the King believed would be very convenient to him), his Majesty, I say, with this attendance, began his journey from that part of Bretagne where he then was still *incognito*. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend

The King begins his journey thither with the Marquis of Ormond and the Earl of Bristol.

head being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been heretofore known, yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement, that such a journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the Earl of Bristol to be the guide; who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodgings; for which province

He goes by
Lyons into
Languedoc;
and so on-
ward.

no man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met with in the way.

When they came near Toulouse, they found that the French Court was there, which they purposely designed to decline. However the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the Marquis of Ormond thither, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his Majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The Marquis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Toulouse, he was informed from the common discourse of the Court, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

An account
of the close
of that
treaty in
respect of
the difficul-
ties con-

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both parties equally desiring the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The Cardinal, who had much the advantage

advantage over Don Lewis in all the faculties necessary ^{cerning}
 for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in ob- ^{Portugal}
 serving what he promised, had used all the arts imagina- ^{and the}
 ble to induce Don Lewis to yield both in the point of ^{Prince of}
 Portugal, and what related to the Prince of Condé.
 and his party. He enlarged upon "the desperate estate in
 " which Flanders was: and that they could possess
 " themselves entirely of it in one campaign; and there-
 " fore it might easily be concluded, that nothing but the
 " Queen's absolute authority could in such a conjunc-
 " ture have disposed the King to a treaty; and, he
 " hoped, that she should not be so ill requited, as to be
 " obliged to break the treaty, or to oblige the King
 " her son to consent to what was indispensably against
 " his honour: that if he should recede from the interest
 " of Portugal, no Prince or State would hereafter enter
 " into alliance with him: that though they were bound
 " to insist to have Portugal included in the peace, yet
 " he would be contented that a long truce might be
 " made, and all acts of hostility forborne for a good
 " number of years, which, he said, was necessary for
 " Spain, that they might recover the fatigue of the long
 " war they had sustained, before they entered into a new
 " one: if they would not consent to that, then that
 " Portugal should be left out of the peace, and Spain at
 " liberty to prosecute the war, and France at the same
 " time to assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of
 " the distance, they should never be able to administer
 " in such a proportion as would be able to preserve it
 " from their conquest;" not without insinuation, "that,
 " so they might not renounce the promise they had
 " made, they would not be over solicitous to perform
 " it. As to the Prince of Condé, that the Catholic
 " King was now to look upon France as the dominion

“ of his son in law, and to be inherited by his grandson,
“ and therefore he would consider what peril it might
“ bring to both, if the Prince of Condé were restored to
“ his greatness in that kingdom, who only could disturb
“ the peace of it, and whose ambition was so restless,
“ that they could no longer enjoy peace, than whilst he
“ was not in a condition to interrupt it.” The Cardinal
told him, in confidence, of several indignities offered
by the Prince of Condé to the person of the Queen, of
which her brother ought to be very sensible, and which
would absolve him from any engagement he had entered
into with that Prince; which he would never have
done, if his Majesty had been fully informed of those
rude transgressions. And therefore he besought Don
Lewis, “ that the joy and triumph, which the King and
“ the Queen would be possessed of by this peace and
“ marriage, might not be clouded, and even rendered
“ disconsolate, by their being bound to behold a man in
“ their presence, who had so often, and with so much
“ damage and disdain, affronted them both; but that
“ the peace of France might be secured by that Prince’s
“ being for ever restrained from living in it; which being
“ provided for, whatsoever his Catholic Majesty should
“ require in ready money, or pensions, to enable the
“ Prince to live in his just splendor abroad, should be
“ consented to.”

Don Lewis de Haro was a man of great temper, of a
fallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never weary of
hearing; thought well of what he was to say; what he
wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though
he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occa-
sion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occa-
sion to repent. He had a good judgment and understand-
ing, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he

was

was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the Cardinal, " that he knew well his master's affairs needed
 " a peace with France; and that the accomplishing
 " this marriage was the only way to attain it: that the
 " marriage was the best and the most honourable in
 " Christendom, and ought to be equally desired on both
 " sides; that his Catholic Majesty was sensible of his
 " own age, and the infirmities which attended it; and
 " desired nothing more than that, before his death, he
 " might see this peace and this marriage finished, and
 " made perfect; and that he was well content to purchase
 " the former at any price, but of his honour; which was
 " the only thing he preferred even before peace: that
 " for Portugal, the groundless rebellion there was so well
 " known to all the world, that he should not go to his
 " grave in peace, if he should do any thing which
 " might look like a countenance, or concession to that
 " title, that was only founded upon treason and re-
 " bellion; or if he should omit the doing any thing
 " that might, with God's blessing, of which he could
 " not doubt, reduce that kingdom to their duty, and his
 " obedience: that his resolution was, as soon as this
 " peace should be concluded, to apply all the force and
 " all the treasure of his dominions, to the invasion of
 " Portugal; which, he hoped, would be sufficient
 " speedily to subdue it; and was a great part of the
 " fruit he promised himself from this peace; and there-
 " fore he would never permit any thing to be concluded
 " in it, that might leave France at liberty to assist that
 " war: that the Catholic King had done all he could,
 " both by Don Antonio Pimentel and Monsieur de
 " Lyonne, that his most Christian Majesty might know
 " his unalterable resolution in the point of Portugal,
 " and with reference to the Prince of Condé, before he

“ consented to treat ; and that he would never depart
“ from what he had declared in either : that he had
“ made a treaty with the Prince of Condé ; by which
“ he had engaged himself never to desert his interest,
“ nor to make a peace without providing for his full
“ restitution and reparation, and of those who had run
“ his fortune, and put themselves under his protection :
“ that the Prince had performed all he had undertaken to
“ do, and had rendered very great service to his Catho-
“ lic Majesty ; who would not only rather lose Flanders,
“ but his crown likewise, than fail in any particular
“ which he was bound to make good to the Prince :”
and therefore he desired the Cardinal “ to acquiesce in
“ both these particulars, from which he should not
“ recede in a tittle ; in others, he would not have the
“ same obstinacy.”

When the Cardinal found that all his art and crafty eloquence were lost upon Don Lewis's want of politeness ; and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of these important particulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise for their idol honour and punctuality ; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxembourg, as Flanders, and all other provinces, by which they dismembered all the Spanish dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders, than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town of Juliers to the Duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money for what they had laid out upon the fortifications ; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that town did belong of right to the Duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to him.

him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by Spain, from being possessed by the Hollanders many years before, and by treaty to remain in their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements. After which time, they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that Prince fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the Duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French shall purchase Juliers from the Duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege, or Cologne, or to disturb the Hollanders in Maestricht, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town; and, indeed, to disturb the peace of Christendom.

Of Portugal no other care was taken in the treaty, than that after the French King had pompously declared, "he would have given up all his conquests by the war, provided the King of Spain would have consented that all things should remain in Portugal as they were at that present," (which proposition, it was said, his Catholic Majesty had absolutely refused,) now "the most Christian King should be allowed three months' time, counting from the day of the ratification of the treaty, wherein he might try to dispose the Portuguese to satisfy his Catholic Majesty. But after those three months should be expired, if his good of-

“ fices should not produce the effect desired, then neither his most Christian Majesty nor his successors should give the Portuguese any aid or assistance, publicly or secretly, directly or indirectly, by sea or land, “ or in any other manner whatsoever.” And this the ingenuity of the Cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the King of Portugal’s interest.

To the Prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been insisted on ; and full recompence made to such of his party as could not be restored to their offices ; as President Viole, and some others : yet Don Lewis would not sign the treaty, till he had sent an express to the Prince of Condé, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the King of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers, who were to be disbanded ; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to their King’s chastisement, without any provision made for Don Josepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances ; and were left to eat the bread of France ; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the Cardinal came one morning into Don Lewis’s chamber with a sad countenance ; and told him, “ they had lost all their pains, and the peace “ could not be concluded.” At which Don Lewis, in much disturbance, asked, “ what the matter was ? ” The Cardinal very composedly answered, “ that it must not
“ be ;

“ be ; that they two were too good Catholics to do any
“ thing against the Pope’s infallibility, which would be
“ called in question by this peace ; since his Holiness
“ had declared, that there would be no peace made ;” as
indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of
his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found
himself still deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet prom-
ised him, that, when the season was ripe for it, he
should have the sole power to conclude it ; so that
when he heard that the two favourites were to meet, of
which he had no notice, he said in the Consistory, “ that
“ he was sure that Cardinal Mazarine would not make a
“ peace.” Don Lewis was glad that there was no other
objection against it ; and so all the company made
themselves merry at the Pope’s charge.

When the Marquis of Ormond discovered by the in-
formation he received at Toulouse, that the treaty was
so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place
the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majesty
might lose no more time. When he came thither, he
found nobody ; which he imputed to the usual delays
in their journey ; and stayed one whole day in expecta-
tion of them ; but then concluded that they were gone
forward some other way, and so thought it his business
to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the
King. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and
complained, very reasonably, that the King neglected
his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit
whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed
to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilst
the Cardinal and he were together. The treaty was
now concluded ; and though the Cardinal remained still
at his old quarters on the French side, under some indis-
position of the gout, yet he and Don Lewis were to
meet

meet no more. But Don Lewis was the less troubled that the King had not come sooner, because he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the King, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and seemed to think his Majesty's hopes desperate; and advised Don Lewis "to be wary how he embarked himself in an affair that had no foundation; and that it was rather time for all Catholics to unite to the breaking the power and interest of the heretical party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the King, except he would become Catholic." And it is believed by wise men, that, in that treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in France and Germany, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken; chiefly by the surprising revolution in England, (which happened the next year), and also by the death of the two great favourites of the two Crowns, Don Lewis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarine; who both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, probably, struck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undreamed of prosperity of our King's affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without his concurrence, and even against all his machinations.

During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently consulted with the Cardinal, and was by him brought to Don Lewis twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the Cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in

in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the King's hands), and to the last he was persuaded, that England should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

The King, the next day after he had sent the Marquis of Ormond to Toulouse, received information upon the way, that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that Don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was easily persuaded by the Earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon as they could; presuming that the Marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majesty. With this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragossa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement, that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that Don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the King, and the Earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Saragossa, whilst O'Neile should go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

The King
by mistake
went into
Spain as far
as to Sara-
gossa.

Don Lewis and the Marquis of Ormond were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the King, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the King had resolved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Saragossa; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable, when
he

he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with Don Juan, and intended to carry the King to Madrid, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privity. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could, to defray the expences which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this must be spent upon the King of England's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried King must be received, and carested in that Court; which would occasion much discourse both in Spain and France. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of Ormond and Sir Harry Bennet; who assured him, "that all that was past was by mere mistake, and without any purpose to decline him, upon whose friendship alone the King absolutely depended;" and undertook positively, "that as soon as his Majesty should be informed of his advice, he would make all the haste thither he could, without thought of doing any thing else:" which Don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neile returned to Saragossa, and his Majesty, without delay, made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.

Thence returns to Fuentarabia.

His treatment there by Don Lewis de Haro.

The King was received according to the Spanish mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be shewed to his Catholic Majesty himself, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the King, his master; "how much he was troubled, that the
"condition

“ condition of his affairs, and the necessity that was
 “ upon him to make shortly a long journey, would not
 “ permit him to invite his Majesty to Madrid, and to
 “ treat him in that manner that was suitable to his
 “ grandeur : that having happily concluded the peace,
 “ he had now nothing so much in his thoughts, as how
 “ he might be able to give or procure such assistance as
 “ his Majesty stood in need of ; and that he should ne-
 “ ver be destitute of any thing, that his power and in-
 “ terest could help him to.” Don Lewis for himself
 made all those professions which could possibly be ex-
 pected from him. He confessed, “ that there was no
 “ provision made in the treaty that the two Crowns
 “ would jointly assist his Majesty ; but, that he believed
 “ the Cardinal would be ready to perform all good of-
 “ fices towards him ; and that, for his own particular,
 “ his Majesty should receive good testimony of the pro-
 “ found veneration he had for him.”

Don Lewis intimated a wish, that his Majesty could
 yet have some conference with the Cardinal ; who was,
 as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the King
 sent the Marquis of Ormond to visit him, and to let
 him know, that his Majesty had a desire to come to
 him, that he might have some conference with him,
 and receive his counsel and advice. But the Cardinal
 would by no means admit it ; said, “ it would administer
 “ unseasonable jealousy to the Parliament, without any
 “ manner of benefit to the King.” He made many
 large professions, which he could do well, of his affec-
 tion to the King ; desired, “ he would have patience till
 “ the marriage should be over, which would be in the
 “ next spring ; and till then their Majesties must re-
 “ main in those parts : but, as soon as that should be
 “ dispatched, the whole Court would return to Paris ;
 “ and

The Cardi-
 nal would
 not see the
 King.

signation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a King ; nor could that be depended upon ; for there were secret approaches made, both from England and Spain, towards a peace ; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his Majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the Dukes of York and Gloucester could no longer remain in an unactive course of life ; and the Duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of Carracena at this time brought the Duke of York a letter from the King of Spain, that he would make him *El Admirante del Oceano*, his Highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, " that it was not such a preferment, that the Duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it : that the command had been in a younger son of the Duke of Savoy, and at another time in a younger son of the Duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary of it ; for whatever title they had, the whole command was in the Spanish officers under them ; and that, if the Duke were there, he might possibly have a competent pension to live on shore, but would never be suffered to go to sea under any title of command, till he first changed his religion ;" all this had no signification

The Duke
of York in-
vited into
Spain,

cation with them ; but they prevailed with his Royal Highness, to return his consent, and acceptance of the office, by the same courier who brought the letter.

The Marquis of Carracena likewise told the King, " that he had received orders to put all things in a readiness for his expedition into England, towards which he would add three thousand men to those troops which his Majesty already had." At the same time the Lord Jermyn and Mr. Walter Mountague came to the King from Paris, with many compliments from the Cardinal, " that when there should be a peace between the two northern Kings," (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) " France would declare avowedly for the King ; but in the mean time they could only assist him under hand ; and to that purpose they had appointed three thousand men to be ready on the borders of France, to be transported out of Flanders, and thirty thousand pistoles to be disposed of by the King to advance that expedition." Sir Harry Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the Marquis of Carracena ; by which he was not (as he had told the King) to add three thousand men to the King's troops, but to make those which his Majesty had amount to the number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the King must be obliged to embark them in France. The men the Cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders ; and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that, by these two specious pretences and proffers, the King could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his Majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new form their counsels.

The Lord Jermyn came to the King with compliments from the Cardinal.

And the Lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion, that the Duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain; to which they made no doubt the Queen would give her consent.

In this state of despair the King's condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of March, old style, 1659: and though his Majesty, and those few entrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red Sea.

The affairs of England after the defeat of Booth and Middleton.

After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the King's hopes so totally destroyed, the Parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in England children of their father's affections; and, by degrees, so to model their army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent Lambert a thousand pounds to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it among the officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the Parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a party in the army, that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by his advice, that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had helped to make Cromwell Protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him; and

The Parliament grows jealous of Lambert's army.

and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the Town.

Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, (as if all were not safe), to seize upon the persons of Delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army; in which they desired the Parliament, "that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a General, who might be amongst them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him." The address was entitled, *The humble Petition and Proposals of the army, under the command of the Lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

The petition and proposals of Lambert's army.

They made a large recapitulation of "the many services they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved them from an enemy, which, if they had been suffered to grow, would, in a short time, have overrun the kingdom, and engaged the nation in a new bloody war; to which too many men were still inclined;" and concluded with a desire, "that they would commit the army to Fleetwood, as General; and that they would appoint Lambert to be Major General." Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying

part of the army ; a man, whom the Parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolved to have no General, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any man's ; and Lambert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented first to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the Parliament. He resolved first to consult with some of his friends for their advice ; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immediately informed the Parliament “ of “ a rebellion growing in the army, which, if not suppressed, would undo all they had done.” They, as they were always apt to take alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had only a copy, but that such officers, whom he named, had the original. The officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the afternoon ; when they produced the petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, “ that the having more general officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and “ dangerous to the commonwealth.”

This petition discovered to Haslerig ; who acquaints the House with it.

They pass a vote to have no more general officers.

This put the whole army into that distemper, that Lambert could wish it in ; and brought the Council of Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the Parliament. They prepared and presented a petition and representation to the Parliament ; in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of “ their fidelity towards them ; but “ yet that they would so far take care for their own preservation,

The Council of Officers upon this prepare a petition and representation to the Parliament.

“ servation, that they would not be at the mercy of their
 “ enemies;” and implied, that they having no way for-
 feited their rights of freemen, had likewise privileges,
 which they would not quit; and then seconded the pro-
 posals of the northern brigade with more warmth, and
 desired, “ that whatever persons should for the future
 “ groundlessly inform the Parliament against them, cre-
 “ ating jealousies, and casting scandalous imputations
 “ upon them, may be brought to examination, justice,
 “ and condign punishment.”

The Parliament, that was governed by Vane and
 Haslerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of
 very different natures and understandings), found there
 would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but
 that one side must be suppressed. They resolved there-
 fore to take away all hope of subsistence from the army,
 if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the
 government by force. In order thereunto they declared,

“ that it should be treason in any person whatsoever to
 “ raise, levy, and collect money, without consent in
 “ Parliament.” Then they made void all acts for cus-
 tom and excise; and by this there was nothing left to
 maintain the army, except they would prey upon the
 people, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered

Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army; The Parlia-
ment de-
clare it trea-
son to raise
money
without
consent of
Parliament,
and make
void all mo-
ney acts.
 with whom they were most offended, for subscribing a They ca-
shier Lam-
bert, and
eight other
principal
officers of
the army.
 letter to all the other forces desiring their concurrence
 with the army in London, and conferred their regiments
 and commands upon other persons, in whom they could
 confide; and committed the whole government of the
 army into the hands of seven commissioners; who were, They make
seven com-
missioners
to govern
the army.
 Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great interest
 in the army, and so durst not totally disoblige him),
 Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland), Monk,

(who was their General in Scotland), Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton ; who were all upon the place.

The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the Parliament to provoke so many of them, being not sure of a competent strength to execute their orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city ; and had already forgotten, how the army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the army less terror. The nine cashiered officers were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers ; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The Parliament send for forces to defend them, and for the city militia.

The Parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Westminster to defend them from force ; and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot, and four troops of horse ; who were well armed, and ranged themselves in the Palace-yard, with a resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the Parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there ; and divided his party in the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order, “ that they should suffer none to march that way, or to “ come out of the gates ;” then placed himself with some troops in King-street, and before Whitehall, to expect when the Speaker would come to the House ; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the Speaker, and told him, “ there was nothing to be
“ done

“done at Westminster,” and therefore advised him “to return back again to his house:” which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which Lambert rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bid Major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid Major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthal to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own house; and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

Lambert
draws some
troops together,
stops the Speaker,
and makes
him go
home.

When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those who had been ordered into the Palace-yard by the Parliament, to withdraw to their quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bid them then to stay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament fate not, they desired that they might repair to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered; and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit; who found all submission and obedience from the foldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any officer in the army who was by his commission above the degree of a colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, “that the army finding itself without a General, or other general officers, had themselves made choice of Fleetwood to be their General, and of Lambert &c.

The officers
meet, and
choose
Fleetwood
General,
&c.

“bert to be their Major General, and of Desborough
 “to be Commissary General of the Horse; and that
 “they bound themselves to obey them in their several
 “capacities, and to adhere to and defend them.” Upon
 the publishing this declaration, they assumed their several
 provinces; and the whole army took commissions
 from their new General; and were as much united, as if
 they were under Cromwell; and looked upon it as a
 great deliverance, that they should no more be subject
 to the Parliament; which they all detested.

Vane's and
 Haslerig's
 parts in this
 business.

But these Generals were not at ease; they knew well
 upon what slippery ground they stood: the Parliament
 had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was
 to run; put an end to all payments of custom and ex-
 cise; and to revive these impositions, by which the army
 might receive their wages, required another authority
 than of the army itself. The divisions in the Parlia-
 ment had made the outrage that was committed upon
 it less reproachful. Vane, who was much the wisest
 man, found he could never make that assembly settle
 such a government as he affected, either in Church or
 State: and Haslerig, who was of a rude and stubborn
 nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only
 with him in all the fierce counsels, which might more
 irrecoverably disinherit the King, and root out his Ma-
 jesty's party: in all other things relating to the tempo-
 ral or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of dif-
 ferent judgments, but of extraordinary animosity against
 each other.

Vane was a man not to be described by any character
 of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fan-
 cies and extravagancies of every sect or faction; and was
 become (which cannot be expressed by any other lan-
 guage than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordi-
 nances,*

mances, unlimited or unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was superior to that of most men), that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

Haslerig was, as to the state, perfectly republican; and as to religion, perfectly Presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his credit in the House was greater than the other's; which made Vane less troubled at the violence that was used, (though he would never advise it), and appear willing enough to confer and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: so he presently entered into conversation with those of the army, who were most like to have authority.

A model of such a government, as the people must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great authority to their counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a number of persons should
 " be chosen, who, under the style of a Committee of ^{A Committee of Safety constituted by the army.}
 " Safety, should assume the present entire government,
 " and have full power to revive all such orders, or to
 " make new, which might be necessary for raising of
 " money, or for doing any thing else which should be
 " judged

“ judged for the peace and safety of the kingdom ; and
 “ to consider and determine, what form of government
 “ was fit to be erected, to which the nation was to sub-
 “ mit.” They also declared “ all the orders, acts, or
 “ pretended acts made in Parliament on the 10th, 11th,
 “ and 12th of October, before their interruption, to be
 “ void and null to all intents and purposes, as if they
 “ had never been.”

To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army, to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this Committee of Safety should consist of three and twenty persons ; six or seven officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were three ; Ireton, Lord Mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more citizens of more private names ; but men tried, and faithful to the republic interest, and not like to give any countenance to Presbyterians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally), besides three or four others of those who had been the King's judges, with Warreston, Vane, Steel, and Whitlock, whom they made Keeper of their Great Seal.

Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation, and proclaimed themselves *the Committee of Safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, they sent Colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to persuade General Monk to a concurrence with

Cobbet sent
 into Scot-
 land to
 Monk.

with them; and, because they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert), to work upon as many of his officers as he could; there being many in that army of whose affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another colonel into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a sub-
And another to the army in Ireland.
 mission to their power and authority.

Before the Parliament was routed, they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to Monk, "that he would take care
 "of his army, lest it should be corrupted against him,
 "which they knew was endeavouring;" and Haslerig, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him "to continue firm to the Parliament;" and to assure him, "that before Lambert should be able to be
 "near him to give him any trouble, he would give him
 "other divertisement." And some time after Lambert had acted that violence upon the Speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, go to Portsmouth. three of the commissioners of the government of the army, went to Portsmouth, where Colonel Whetham the Governor was their friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian-republican party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; others, and the most considerable of that party, professing "that they very much desired
 "monarchical government, and the person of the King,
 "so that they might have him without episcopacy, and
 "enjoy the lands of the Church;" which they had divided among them. These three were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the Governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the party of the army; and Colonel Morley, whose interest was in Suffex, easily drew in
 enough

enough of his friends, to make them very secure in their garrison; which the Committee of Safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that Haflerig would never be induced to serve the King, whose interest only could break all their measures.

But this open declaring of Portsmouth for the Parliament happened not till the following December. That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold letters from Monk, about the end of October; who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Berwick. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as Cobbet came into Scotland, he was committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle; and that Monk used extraordinary diligence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence dismissing them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect Monk to be of their party: besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the King, than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the North, that he might at least stop him in
any

Monk writes to the officers of the army declaring for the Parliament.

Possesses Berwick;

Imprisons Cobbet; and purges his army of fanatics.

Lambert sent against him.

any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to guard themselves, and keep the town quiet, and some others to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the garrison there from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Suffex and Hampshire, where they had many friends.

Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the Committee of Safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him two such persons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his wife's brother; and after them some officers of the army, and two Independent ministers, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions, "that he desired no-
 " thing more, than to unite himself and his army with
 " that of England, provided that there might be a law-
 " ful power, to which they might all be subject: but
 " that the force that had been used upon the Parlia-
 " ment, was an action of such a nature, that was de-
 " structive to all government, and that it would be ab-
 " solutely necessary to restore that to its freedom, rights,
 " and privileges; which being done, he would use all
 " the instance and credit he had to procure an act of
 " pardon and oblivion, for all that had been done amiss;
 " and this would unite both Parliament and army for
 " the public safety, which was apparently threatened and
 " shaken by this disunion." He added, "that he so
 " much desired peace and union, and so little thought
 " of using force, that he would appoint three officers of
 " his army, Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, to go to Lon-
 " don, and treat with the Committee of Safety, of all
 " par-

They send
Charges, &c.
to Monk.

Monk's an-
swer to
them.

He appoints
three com-
missioners
to treat
with the of-
ficers of the
army at
London.

They at
London ac-
cept of a
treaty.

"particulars necessary thereunto." When the persons sent from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the General made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the Committee of Safety was very well pleased, and concluded, that the fame of their army's march had frightened him: so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay, till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

A particu-
lar account
of General
Monk.

General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where some of all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the Lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of Colonel Goring. When the first troubles begun in Scotland, Monk, and many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the King. In the beginning of the Irish rebellion, he was sent thither, with the command of the Lord Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then Lieutenant of Ireland), and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war broke out in England between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where
he

he was taken prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiment from thence, to serve the King in England, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his regiment should be sent on that expedition, and his answer to the Lord of Ormond was so rough and doubtful, that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those regiments were sent to Chester, and there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them Monk went under some cloud, and from Bristol to the King at Oxford, where he was known to many persons of quality, (and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the King's service in the West, and most useful), his professions were so sincere, (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation), that all men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the King was willing to send him into the West, where the gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the King's leave, made all haste towards Chester; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a volunteer, in the first rank, with a pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

He

He was no sooner there, than the Lord Lisle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavoured to persuade him to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before ; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange, nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several officers of the same quality for his exchange ; which was always refused ; there having been an ordinance made, “ that no officer “ who had been transported out of Ireland should ever “ be exchanged ;” so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons ; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the King’s condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply ; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the war was at an end, and the King a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with Monk, for his liberty and preferment, to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And, from that time, Monk continued very firm to Cromwell ; who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence ; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters ; nor was there any man in either of the armies, upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more depended. And those of his western friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived. But as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the King, than

than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the King's service, and all his relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of fanaticism to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were swayed by those trances.

He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular integrity; and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the King. Sir Hugh Pollard and Sir John Greenvil, who had both friendship for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, "whether, since Cromwell was now gone, and in all reason it might be expected that his death would be attended with a general revolution, by which the King's interest would be again disputed, he did not believe, that the General might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the King, in which, they thought, he would be sure to meet with a universal concurrence from the whole Scottish nation." The honest clergyman thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to his brother into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them), and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the King of this design; and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his Majesty's approbation and instruction. The King had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a negotiation. Whereupon his brother began his journey

ney towards Edinburgh, where the General received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "to return no more to him with such propositions."

In truth, at that time, the General had not given the least public proof that he had any thought or purpose of contributing to the King's restoration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers accidents, which fell out in the course of affairs, and seemed even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conducted so much to his greatness and glory: yet from that very time, his brother's inclinations to the King being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the King; which his Majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in England.

Monk's
jealousy of
Lambert
before this
time.

Now upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, Monk saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the North, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the Parliament's interest, as he had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose, than his own profit and honour, under the establishment of that government.

When

When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged out of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of the States of Scotland; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that people to an entire submission to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility, and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, than they had been accustomed to under their own lords. When this convention appeared before him, he told them, "that he had received a call from heaven and earth, to march with his army into England, for the better settlement of the government there; and though he did not intend his absence should be long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance of the peace which they enjoyed; and therefore he expected, and desired, that, in any such occasion, they would be ready to join with the forces he left behind in their own defence." In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "that they would pay in a present sum of money out of the arrears of their taxes, for supplying the necessities of the army, without which it could not well march into England."

He calls together an assembly of the Scottish nation.

His discourse to them.

From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons as were most notorious for affection to the King, as finding them a

more direct and punctual people than the rest: and when these men resorted to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the King; by which imagination of theirs, he received great advantage: for they paid him the arrears of a twelvemonth's tax over the kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of Major General Morgan, he marched with the rest to Berwick; where a good part of his horse and foot expected him; having refused to ratify the treaty signed by his commissioners at London, and committed Colonel Wilks, one of them, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another treaty to be held at Newcastle; which, though he knew it would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion, in the Committee of Safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of peace.

Lambert comes with his army to Newcastle towards the end of November.

It was towards the end of November, that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers whom Monk had cashiered; and who, he persuaded the people, had deserted Monk, for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief

relief to his Committee of Safety, which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerig and Morley were now looked upon, as the persons invested with the authority of Parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer, who was sent by the Committee of Safety to restrain them in Portsmouth, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers; who declared, "that ^{The soldiers before Portsmouth revolted to it.} they would serve the Parliament," and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals, Haslerig and Morley, would conduct them.

The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the apprentices did; their dislike of the present government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared, "that they would have a free Parliament." And though Colonel Hewson, (a bold fellow, who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer), who was left to guard the Committee of Safety, suppressed that ^{The city apprentices rose, but are suppressed by Hewson} commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the more against the army; which, they said, "was only kept on foot to murder the citizens." And it was said, they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against Hewson for those murders. The Common Council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the Committee of Safety; which begun to be univer-

fally abhorred, as like to be the original of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a Parliament called to meet together in February next, under such qualifications and restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such persons who would destroy them." But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the Parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

Lawson and the fleet declare for the Parliament: and come into the river.

But that which broke the heart of the Committee of Safety, was the revolt of their favourite Vice-Admiral Lawson, a man at that time appearing at least as much republican, as any amongst them; as much an Independent, as much an enemy to the Presbyterians and to the Covenant, as Sir Harry Vane himself; and a great dependent upon Sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raised to that command in the fleet, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the Parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent Sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of the Parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms; and told them, "that he would submit to no authority but that of the Parliament."

Haslerig and Morley march from Portsmouth towards London.

Upon the same of this, Haslerig and Morley resolved with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute

cute

cate any orders which they should receive from the Committee of Safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the Council of Officers, or the Committee of Safety, for adhering to the Parliament; and their commands having been given to other men, who had been discountenanced by the Parliament, the regiments for a time appeared as much confirmed in the interest of the army, as could be wished. But these cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerig and Morley, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed, they put themselves into the heads of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the Parliament, they all marched into Chancery Lane to the house of the Speaker; and professed their resolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

The soldiers in London resolve to restore the Parliament, and wait on the Speaker.

Lambert, upon the first news of the forward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment; which was now marched as near London as St. Alban's; where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission; but declared that they likewise were for the Parliament; and gave the Speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, General Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the Committee of Safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them,

Desborough's regiment revolt to the Parliament. The behaviour of Fleetwood at this time.

he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his face, and would not hear him:" so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of General, and been content with the second command for himself.

Lenthal
goes into
the city.

Lenthal the Speaker, upon this new declaration of the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, "that the Parliament would meet (though not immediately) within very few days." For, as the members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the Parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own authority, removed the lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the Committee of Safety; and put Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of the Parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

Changes the
command
of the
Tower.

The Parlia-
ment meets
again at
Westmin-
ster.

All things being in this good order, he and the members met again together at Westminster, on December the 26th, and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; and put those collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their

their profelyte forces, and to carry on their other expences. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which the army should be put; and made an order, that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned. They order Lambert's troops to their several quarters.

This man was now in a disconsolate condition: as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The Lord Fairfax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last order of the Parliament so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the officers of the army, who had been formerly cashiered by the Parliament, and had resumed their commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and divers other members of the House who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were likewise confined to their own houses: so that the Parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction. Lambert's army separates; and he is committed to the Tower.

The other changes and fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischiefs, disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make their

Upon this return of the Parliament, the King's affairs seemed more desperate.

The condition of the King at Brussels.

their parts of the army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new Parliament; in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. The Committee of Safety had neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising resurrection of the Parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was most formidable to the King and his party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and was interpreted by that party, as an act of Providence to establish their monstrous murders and usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there were very few men, who bore a part in these changes and giddy revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the King's restoration, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion. This was the true state of affairs when the King returned from Fuentarabia to Brussels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that there was that dejection of spirit upon those about his Majesty; and that the Duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

Whilst the divisions had continued in the army, and the

the Parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the Cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers, seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the King's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the government and the army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

There remained only within the King's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His Majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great services; and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privity and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his judgment, that, whatever present conditions the governing party might give him, for the service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough that the Parliament resolved to new model their army, and
to

to have no man in any such extent of command, as to be able to control their counsels. Then his Majesty knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore Monk would think himself obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

But, I say, these were but faint hopes grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations; and, as wise men, had concluded, that, from those frequent shuffles, some game at last might fall out that might prove to the King's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the General the least cause to imagine they had any such affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happiness that the General never owned his purpose to serve his Majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power to do. If he had declared his resolution sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was God's instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass, which, undoubtedly, no one man living had, of himself, either wisdom enough to foresee, or understanding to contrive, or courage to attempt, and execute.

When the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that General Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued

tinued his march towards London, without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that a good part of his forces might be sent back to Scotland;" and he, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand foot and horse, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the possession of the Lord Fairfax; who received him with open arms, as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make Monk's advance into England the less interrupted.

Monk
marches
towards
London.

The Parlia-
ment desire,
that part of
his forces
may be sent
back to
Scotland.

Monk
comes to
York.

The truth is, that, upon a letter from the King, delivered to Fairfax by Sir Horatio Townsend, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that General Monk brought good affections with him for his Majesty's service, that lord had called together some of his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and many principal gentlemen of the country, and marched in the head of them into York, some time after that Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the King; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with Monk, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the General, first in person, and afterwards in writing, "that he would be instrumental to

The Lord
Fairfax's
part in this
whole busi-
ness.

" restore

“ restore the nation to peace and security, and to the
 “ enjoying those rights and liberties, which by the law
 “ were due to them, and of which they had been
 “ robbed and deprived by so many years’ distractions ;
 “ and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either
 “ for the restoring those members which had been ex-
 “ cluded in the year 1648 by force and violence, that
 “ they might exercise that trust the kingdom had re-
 “ posed in them ; or that a free and full Parliament
 “ might be called by the votes of the people ; to which
 “ all subjects had a right by their birth.”

Addresses to
 Monk from
 all counties
 as he passed.
 The city
 sent to him
 by their
 Sword-
 Bearer to
 the same
 purpose.
 His manner
 of receiving
 these ad-
 dresses.

The principal persons of all counties through which the General passed, flocked to him in a body with addresses to the same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as far as to Morpeth, to offer their service ; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility, and few words ; took all occasions publicly to declare, “ that
 “ nothing should shake his fidelity to the present Parlia-
 “ ment,” yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, “ that he would procure a
 “ free Parliament :” so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

The Parliament was far from being confident that Monk was above temptation : the manner of his march with such a body, his receiving so many addresses from the people, and his treating Malignants so civilly, startled them much ; and though his professions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdom, had a good aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent
 this

this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of addressees, and resort of Malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit with them, Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any Delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the General, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt; and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputation of those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens, to perform the same compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the Parliament, "that he had some apprehension that those regiments and troops of the army who had formerly deserted them, though for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not live peaceably with his men," and therefore desired that all the soldiers (except one or two regiments, which he named) "who were then quartered in the Strand, Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might be presently removed, and sent to more distant quarters, that there might be room for his army." This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be under the force and awe of an army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution,

The Parliament sends Scot and Robinson to meet him.

At St. Alban's he sent to the Parliament to have the other regiments removed out of town.

The Parliament gives orders accordingly.

lution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers; and the regiment that was quartered in Somerset House expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there were like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and so at last all was well composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of February, General Monk with his army marched through the city into the Strand, and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

Monk marches in about the beginning of February.

He is conducted to the Parliament, and complimented by the Speaker.

He was shortly after conducted to the Parliament. There he had a chair appointed for him to sit in; and the Speaker made him a speech to this effect, "that though it was God, and not man, who had done this great work, and ought to have the glory of it; yet the influence of that glory extended to him the instrument, as a reward of his prudent and wise conduct: that when their friends had left them, and there was a great defection in duty and trust, so that the whole nation seemed to be exposed to the utmost ruin; they discerned, as the Prophet did, a little cloud afar off, and in his hand which had dispersed the miseries of these nations, and was become a glorious mercy to them all: that the House had a true resentment of his service, and returned their hearty thanks to him, and all his officers and soldiers."

Monk's reply.

The General was not a man of eloquence or volubility of speech; but after having thanked them, "for the honour they had done him for but doing his duty;" he told them, "that, in his march from Scotland, several

“ral applications, with numerous subscriptions, had
 “been made to him, for a full and free Parliament, for
 “admittance of the secluded members without any pre-
 “vious oath or engagement; and that this Parliament
 “would determine their sitting: to all which he had
 “answered, that they were now a free Parliament; and
 “that they had voted to fill up their House, and then
 “they would be a full Parliament; and that they had
 “already determined their sitting. But as for the se-
 “cluded members, this Parliament had already given
 “judgment in it, in which all people ought to acqui-
 “esce; and that to admit any members to sit in Par-
 “liament, without a previous oath to preserve the go-
 “vernment in being, was never done in England. But
 “now he craved pardon to say to themselves, that the
 “less oaths or engagements were imposed, their settle-
 “ment would be the sooner attained to: that he knew,
 “all the sober gentry would close with them, if they
 “might be tenderly and gently used: that it was their
 “common concernment to amplify, not to lessen, their
 “interest, and to be careful that neither the Cavalier nor
 “the Fanatic party should have yet a share in the civil or
 “military power.”

The rest of his speech concerned Ireland and Scot-
 land. And all being spoken with more than his natural
 warmth, there were some expressions in it which they
 disliked. But others gave them some ease, and hope
 that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily
 wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had
 been left to contend with the malignity of their old
 army; and they watched for some occasion that he
 might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or
 give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public re-

ceipts had wholly emptied their coffers, out of which the army, and all other expences, were to be supplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to require the city presently to collect and bring in the arrears of their taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable sum of money of them; which could not be easily done but by the advice and with the consent of the Common Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably, without their distribution.

The Common Council of the city are refractory to the Parliament.

The Common Council was constituted of such persons as were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with, any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never submit to any imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the General; and the apprehension of this made the Parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

The Parliament having received a full information from those aldermen, and others, whose interest was bound

bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the Common Council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and returned their advice to the Parliament, "that some part of the army might be sent into the city, and remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of the commonwealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the Parliament. In order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, they thought it convenient that the posts and chains should be removed from and out of the several streets of the city; and that the portculises and gates of the city should be taken down and broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven persons, who had been the principal conductors in the Common Council, all citizens of great reputation; and advised "that they should be apprehended and committed to prison, and that thereupon a new Common Council might be elected, that would be more at their devotion."

This round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the city with his army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town on Feb. the 9th, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them), caused as many as he could of those who were so prescribed to be apprehended,

Monk sent
into the city
to reduce it
to obedience.

Returns to
Whitchall.

hended, and sent them to the Tower ; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole city ; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters. And by this last act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him, and confirmed his masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And many at that time feared, that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

The Parliament resolve to join others in commission with him, and receive a petition by Barebone from the fanatics,

Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the army ; and, upon that very day, they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praise-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late King, and against the person of the present King, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, which adhered to him ; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present Parliament, who had been excluded

excluded in the year 1648 ; “ either of which,” the petitioners said, “ would prove the inevitable destruction “ of all the godly in the land :” and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, “ that no person whatsoever might be admitted to the exercise of any office “ or function in the State, or in the Church, no not so much as to teach a school, who did not first take the “ oath of abjuration of the King, and of all his family, “ and that he would never submit to the government of “ any one single person whatsoever ; and that whosoever “ should presume so much as to propose or mention the “ restoration of the King in Parliament, or any other “ place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemned “ for, high treason.”

This petition was received with great approbation by the House, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly returned by the Speaker : all which information the General received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city ; and was presently attended by his chief officers ; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the Parliament, “ their manifest ingratitude to him, and the indignity offered to him, in giving such countenance to “ a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to set the “ whole kingdom in a flame, to comply with their fanatic and mad enthusiasms ; and that the Parliament “ would never have admitted such an infamous address “ with approbation, except they had first resolved upon “ his ruin and destruction ; which he was assuredly to “ look for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and “ sagacity ;” and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

Monk's chief officers discontented at this neglect of the Parliament of their General.

The General had been prepared, by the conference

of Scot and Robinfon in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the Parliament, he must take the oath of abjuration of the King and his family. And therefore they had advised him "to offer the taking it himself, before it should be proposed to him, as a matter that would confirm all men in an entire confidence in him." When he came to the Parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to carefs him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that

This awakes him.

In the morning, which was very soon after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house. At the same time he left Whitehall, he sent a letter to the Par-

Hemarches again into the city, and sends an expostulatory letter to the Parliament.

Parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "their unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic proceedings; of their abetting and countenancing wicked and unchristian tenets in reference to religion, and such as would root out the practice of any religion; of their underhand corresponding with those very persons whom they had declared to be enemies, and who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts and indignities they had undergone, in and after their dissolution." Thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, "that, in such a time," (a time prescribed in his letter,) "they would issue out writs for a new Parliament, that so their own fitting might be determined; which was the only expedient that could return peace and happiness to the kingdom, and which both the army and kingdom expected at their hands."

This letter was no sooner delivered to the House, than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was embarked, and so entertained no new jealousies of him.

His letter to the Parliament printed and dispersed.

After he had dined with the Lord Mayor, and disposed his army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired him, and the Aldermen, with the Common Council, to meet him at the Guildhall; where, after many excuses for the work of the other day, they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the General to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and testified to the town

He meets the Lord Mayor and Common Council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and they by him. Great rejoicing in the city upon it.

and kingdom, that the army and the city were of one mind. And, as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light of bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of scorn and contempt of the Parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it ; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast a rump, and pieces of flesh made like one ; “ which,” they said, “ was for the celebration of the funeral of the Parliament :” and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the King’s health ; which was taken no notice of ; nor was it known that one person of condition did once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again

The Parliament sent some members to treat with him.

to them ; and, to that purpose, they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition. The entertainment he gave this committee, was

He engages them in a conference with some secluded members.

the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded : and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple

scruple to declare, "that in justice the secluded members ought to be admitted before the calling another Parliament, and the dissolution of this."

After he had put the city into the posture they desired, and found no danger threatened him from thence, he returned again to his quarters in Whitehall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented "the sad condition the kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the division and divisions which had arisen in Parliament among those who were faithful to the commonwealth: that he had had many conferences with them together, and was satisfied by those gentlemen, who had been excluded, of their integrity; and therefore he had desired this conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his delivery, or misapprehended in his expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to say in writing;" which he commanded his secretary to read to them: and was as follows.

He returns to Whitehall.

Sends for members of both parties.

He delivers his mind to them in a paper.

"Gentlemen,

"You are not, I hope, ignorant, what care and endeavours have been used, and means essayed, for healing the breaches of our divisions amongst ourselves; and that in order thereunto divers conferences have been procured between you, though to small effect: yet having at length received fuller satisfaction, from those worthy gentlemen that were secluded, than formerly; I was bold to put you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I might open myself to you all,

"even

“ even with more freedom than formerly : but lest I
“ might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it be-
“ fell me, I have committed to writing the heads of
“ what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may
“ be read openly to you all.

“ Gentlemen,

“ It appears unto me, by what I have heard from you
“ and the whole nation, that the peace and happy set-
“ tlement of these bleeding nations, next under God,
“ lieth in your hands. And when I consider that wis-
“ dom, piety, and self-denial, which I have reason to be
“ confident lodgeth in you, and how great a share of the
“ nation’s sufferings will fall upon you, in case the Lord
“ deny us now a settlement, I am in very good hopes,
“ there will be found in you all such melting bowels
“ towards these poor nations, and towards one another,
“ that you will become healers, and makers up, of all its
“ woful breaches. And that such an opportunity may
“ clearly appear to be in your hands, I thought good to
“ assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I
“ have nothing before my eyes but God’s glory, and the
“ settlement of these nations upon commonwealth foun-
“ dations. In pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too
“ dear ; and for my own particular, I shall throw myself
“ down at your feet to be any thing or nothing in order
“ to these great ends. As to the way of future settle-
“ ment, far be it from me to impose any thing ; I de-
“ sire you may be in perfect freedom ; only give me
“ leave to mind you, that the old foundations are by
“ God’s providence so broken, that, in the eye of rea-
“ son, they cannot be restored but upon the ruins of the
“ people of these nations, that have engaged for their
“ rights, in defence of the Parliament, and the great and
“ main

“ main ends of the Covenant, for uniting and making
 “ the Lord’s name one in the three nations : and also
 “ the liberty of the people’s representatives in Parlia-
 “ ment will be certainly lost; for if the people find, that
 “ after so long and bloody a war against the King for
 “ breaking in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be
 “ taken in again, it will be out of question, and is most
 “ manifest, he may for the future govern by his will,
 “ dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-men as he
 “ pleaseth, and yet the people will never more rise for
 “ assistance.

“ And as to the interest of this famous city, (which
 “ hath been in all ages the bulwark of Parliaments, and
 “ unto whom I am for their great affection so deeply
 “ engaged), certainly it must lie in a commonwealth;
 “ that government only being capable to make them,
 “ through the Lord’s blessing, the metropolis and bank
 “ of the trade for all Christendom ; whereunto God and
 “ nature hath fitted them above others.

“ And as to a government in the Church, the want
 “ whereof hath been no small cause of these nations’
 “ distractions, it is most manifest, that if it be monar-
 “ chical in the State, the Church must follow, and Pre-
 “ lacy must be brought in; which these nations, I know,
 “ cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly
 “ sworn.

“ And indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian go-
 “ vernment, with a sufficient liberty for consciences truly
 “ tender, appears at present to be the most indifferent
 “ and acceptable way to the Church’s settlement.

“ The main thing that seems to lie in the way is the
 “ interest of the Lords, even of those Lords who have
 “ shewed themselves noble indeed, by joining with the
 “ people, and in defence of those just rights have adven-
 “ tured

“ tured their dearest blood and large estates. To that I
 “ shall only say, that though the state of these nations
 “ be such, as cannot bear their sitting in a distinct
 “ House ; yet, certainly, the wisdom of Parliament will
 “ find out such hereditary marks of honour for them, as
 “ may make them more noble in after ages.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Upon the whole matter, the best result that I can
 “ make at present for the peace of these nations, will be,
 “ in my opinion, that you forthwith go to sit together in
 “ Parliament, in order,

1. “ To the settling the conduct of the armies of the
 “ three nations in that manner, as they may be service-
 “ able to the peace and safety of them, and not to its
 “ own and the nation’s ruin, by faction and division.

2. “ To the providing sufficient maintenance for
 “ them; that is, for the forces by land, and for the navy
 “ by the sea, and all the arrears of both, and other con-
 “ tingencies of the government.

3. “ To the appointing a Council of State with au-
 “ thority to settle the civil government and judicatories
 “ in Scotland and Ireland, and to take care for the is-
 “ suing of writs for the summoning a Parliament of
 “ these three nations united, to meet at Westminster the
 “ 20th day of April next, with such qualifications as
 “ may secure the public cause we are all engaged in,
 “ and according to such distributions as were used in the
 “ year 1654. Which Parliament so called may meet
 “ and act in freedom, for the more full establishing of
 “ this commonwealth, without a King, single person, or
 “ House of Lords.

4. “ To a legal dissolution of this Parliament, to
 “ make way for succession of Parliaments.

“ And

“ And in order to these good ends, the guards will
“ not only willingly admit you, but faithfully both my-
“ self, and every the officers under my command ; and
“ I believe the officers and soldiers of the three nations
“ will spend their blood for you and successive Parlia-
“ ments.

“ If your conjunction be directed to this end, you
“ may part honourably, having made a fair step to the
“ settlement of these nations, by making a way for suc-
“ cessive Parliaments.

“ But I must needs say, that if any different counsel
“ should be taken, (which I have no reason to fear),
“ these nations would presently be thrown back into
“ force and violence, and all hopes of this much desired
“ establishment buried in disorder ; which the Lord in
“ his great mercy I hope will prevent. And so God
“ speed you well together, and unite your hearts for the
“ preservation of peace and settlement of these nations,
“ to his glory, and yours, and all our comforts.”

Divers who heard this, thought there was no dissimu-
lation in it, in order to cover and conceal his good in-
tentions for the King : for, without doubt, he had not
to this hour seemed to them to have any purpose or
thought to serve him, but appeared to be really of the
opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work
impossible. So that they thought he desired nothing,
but that he might see a commonwealth established in
such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred ;
and that himself might enjoy the authority and place
which the Prince of Orange possessed in that govern-
ment. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland
to this time, had much public conversation with any
persons who had served the King ; nor had he hitherto,
or,

than at that time covered the small court of the King; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the General's second march into the city was within two or three days after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his Majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of bells, and bonfires, and burning of rumps, and such other additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

The King
hears on the
same day of
both the
marches of
the General
into the
city.

When it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the Chancellor's lodging at Bruffels; which was under the King's bedchamber, and to which his Majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the dispatch of any business. The Marquis said no more but "that that man had formerly been an officer under him, and he believed he was an honest man; besides, that he brought a line or two of credit from a person they would both believe; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he would call the King to judge;" and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the King.

The man's name was Baily; who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the Marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little: his relation was, "that in the afternoon of such a day, he was with Sir John Stephens in Lambeth House, used then as a prison for many of the King's friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, news was brought into the house by several persons, that the General was marched with his whole
" army

“ army into the city, (it being within two or three days
 “ after he had been there, and broke down their gates,
 “ and pulled down their posts), and that he had a con-
 “ ference with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was
 “ no sooner ended, but that all the city bells rang out;
 “ and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth: and
 “ that he stayed there so late, till they saw the bonfires
 “ burning and flaming in the city: upon which Sir
 “ John Stephens had desired him, that he would imme-
 “ diately cross the river, and go into London, and en-
 “ quire what the matter was; and if he found any thing
 “ extraordinary in it, that he would take post, and make
 “ all possible haste to Brussels, that the King might be
 “ informed of it; and so gave him a short note in writ-
 “ ing to the Marquis of Ormond, that he might believe
 “ all that the messenger would inform him: that there-
 “ upon he went over the river, walked through Cheap-
 “ side, saw the bonfires, and the King’s health drank in
 “ several places, heard all that the General had done,
 “ and brought a copy of the letter which the Gene-
 “ ral had sent to the Parliament, at the time when he
 “ returned with his army into the city; and then
 “ told many things, which were,” he said, “ publicly
 “ spoken, concerning sending for the King: that then
 “ he took post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought
 “ him to Ostend.”

The time was so short from the hour he left London,
 that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor
 could any man undertake to come from thence in so
 short a time, upon the most important affair, and for
 the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses
 and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions,
 that the man was not composed, and at best wanted
 sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and

imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his Majesty, and the other two; and had been sent over lately by the King, with some advice to his friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth House. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the King could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the General's letter to the Parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had argument to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants; who, upon the news thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such vast hopes, as would be very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for.

But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The most that he could collect from the General's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the Rump Parliament, was, that; possibly, at last the excluded members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majesty. Several of those excluded members had
not

not been true members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of the war, into their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King ; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit Great Seal had given them, without and against the King's authority. It was thought these men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the concessions made by the late King at the Isle of Wight might be accepted ; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the King, near as much establish a republican government, as was settled after his murder ; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the House ; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

Now what could the King reasonably expect from these men's readmission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions ? which his late Majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the scaffold ; though it was upon the promise of many powerful men then in the Parliament, " that he should not be obliged to accomplish that agreement." These revolvings wrought much upon his Majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it ; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his Majesty had heard before was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned

Many now
apply to
the King.

The Coun-
cil of State's
kind beha-
viour now
to the
King's
friends.

that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the King recovered his hopes again ; which were every day increased by the addressses of many men, who had never before applied themselves to him ; and many sent to him for his Majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was dissolved, the Council of State behaved themselves very civilly towards his Majesty's friends, and released many of them out of prison : particularly Annesley, when President of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service ; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his Majesty, and returned a dutiful answer to it : all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members ; for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth. Few or none of his Majesty's friends could find any means of address to him ; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the King, " of what importance it would
" be, that he gave them some credit, or means of ac-
" cess to the General, by which they might receive his
" order and direction in such things as occurred on the
" sudden, and that they might be sure to do nothing
" that might cross any purpose of his." To which the King returned no other answer, " but that they should

" have

“ have patience, and make no attempt whatsoever ;
“ and that in due time they should receive all advertise-
“ ments necessary ;” it being not thought fit to disclaim
having intelligence with, or hopes of, the General ; since
it was very evident, that the received opinion, that he
did design to serve the King, or that he would be at last
obliged to do it, whether he designed to do it or no, did
really as much contribute to the advancement of his
Majesty’s service, as if he had dedicated himself to it.
And the assurance, that the other party thought they
had, that he had no such intention, hindered those ob-
structions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very
probably might have lessened his credit with his own
army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time a business that
very much troubled the King, and might very probably
have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him.
Upon the dissolution of the Parliament, which put an end
to all the power and authority of those who had been the
chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had
been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had
been the late King’s judges ; who were sure to find as
hard measure from the secluded members, as they were
to expect if the King himself had been restored. And
all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and
exercised the same power, who were called the Rump,
believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at
hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they
could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the as-
sembling a new Parliament ; which if they could inter-
rupt, they made no doubt but the Rump members would
again resume the government, notwithstanding their
dissolution by the power of the secluded members ; who
would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand, and Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for General Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. And they inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who, they supposed, were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same insinuations into the soldiers of General Monk's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; his party having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General had as great a jealousy of this man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had command of the place were notoriously known neither to love Lambert's person, nor to favour his designs.

Lambert's
escape out
of the
Tower.

This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon them. And though they had lately
deserted

deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done), he would have gone near to have shaken at least the model the General had made.

But either through the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience), or the presumption, that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for him; and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all his designs. He stayed not at all in London, as it was his interest to have done, but hastened into the country; and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he thought himself sure of, the General had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet, with great expedition, Lambert drew four troops of the army to
him,

He draws
four troops
of the army
to him near
Davertry.

him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonshire, a country famous for disaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

The General sends Ingoldsfby against him with his own regiment, and a body of foot under Colonel Streater.

But the General, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel Ingoldsfby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him), to attend and watch all his motions with his own regiment of horse; which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by Lambert to desert him. Ingoldsfby, being joined with a good body of foot under Colonel Streater, used so much diligence in waiting upon Lambert's motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him prisoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldsfby; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, "that he would himself retire to his house, and send his troop to obey his commands;" which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingoldsfby, and informed him where Lambert was. He thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

One of Lambert's troops revolts to Ingoldsfby.

Lambert,

Lambert, surpris'd with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, saw his enemy much superior to him in number; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. Lambert propos'd to him, "that they might restore Richard to be Protector;" and promised to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. But Ingoldsb'by (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest; and adhered to the General, because he presumed that he did intend to serve the King, and so reject'd this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his enemy, he concluded, that his safety would depend upon his flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingoldsb'by keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him, and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain us'd great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

And another also.
Lambert and his party dispersed.
He and others taken.

With him were taken Cobbet, Creed, and some other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the General, in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crush'd in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. Ingoldsb'by returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the Privy Council; who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers; and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding Parliament; which was to assemble soon

soon after the prisoners were brought before the Council ; and would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness, if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

The Parliament's and Council of State's prudent actions.

In this short interval between the return of the secluded members, and the convention of the new Parliament, many prudent actions and alterations (besides what have been already mentioned) were begun by that Parliament, before it was dissolved, and finished afterwards by the Council of State ; which were good prefaces, that the future councils would proceed with moderation. They released Sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as he shortly after was ; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control ; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all places with freedom ; and many of the Council, and some officers of the army, as Ingoldsfby and Huntington, &c. made, through him, tender of their services to the King.

Before the assembling of the new Parliament they release Sir George Booth, &c.

They re-form the navy by making Monk and Mountague Admirals.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the navy ; which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republican. The present fleet prepared for the summer service was under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawfon ; an excellent seaman, but then a notorious Anabaptist ; who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the city ; and, by the power of his fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the Committee of Safety,

and

and restore the Rump Parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The Parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove Lawson, yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them, as he had done the Committee of Safety. In order to this they concluded, that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own house, under a cloud, and jealousy of being inclined too much to the King, and make him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint Admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague only would go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take care for good officers, and seamen, for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the King for his approbation, before he would accept the charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the General; and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his Majesty's service with more generosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the King.

Mountague was of a noble family, of which some were too much addicted to innovations in religion, and, in the beginning of the troubles, appeared against the King; though his father, who had been long a servant to the Crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only son within those limits: but being

young,

An account
of Admiral
Mountague.

young, and more out of his father's control by being married into a family, which, at that time, also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the careffes of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him, first, joined in commission with Blake; and then, in the sole command by sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least shew of acrimony towards any who had served the King; and was so much in love with monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered to him by his Parliament. He was designed by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two Kings of Sweden and Denmark; but was, in truth, to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede; with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance. He was upon this expedition, when Richard was scornfully thrown out of the Protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that command) with Algernon Sidney, and the other plenipotentiaries which the Rump Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the King thought Moun-
tague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was
advised

advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his service.

There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the Lord Mountague of Boughton, and his near kinsman ; with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good affections and resolutions ; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant voyage, only to dispose his cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his Majesty. At this time Sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the government. And it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment, whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the King.

The Chancellor thereupon prepared such a letter in his own name, as his Majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of " Sir George Booth's
" being possessed of Chester, and in the head of an
" army ; and that his Majesty was assured of many
" other places ; and of a general combination between
" persons of the greatest interest, to declare for the
" King ; and that, if he would bring his fleet upon the
" coast, his Majesty, or the Duke of York, would immediately be on board with him." This letter was inclosed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered, or not delivered, as he thought fit ; and
committed

committed to the care of an express, who was then thought not to be without some credit with the Admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay; and where all the plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were), and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who, the same night, delivered the other to his cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the Admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the Admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any service that the Admiral could perform for him. With this answer the messenger returned to Brussels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this messenger's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to require of the King of Denmark, that he might be committed to prison, Admiral Mountague declared, "that he
" should not be able to stay longer there for the want
" of

“ of victual ; of which he had not more than would
“ serve to carry him home ; and therefore desired, that
“ they would press both Kings, and the Dutch plenipo-
“ tentiaries, to finish the negociation.” By this time
the news of the commotions in England made a great
noise, and were reported, according to the affections of
the persons who sent letters thither, more to the King’s
advantage than there was reason for ; and the other plenipotentaries came to know, that the man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with Edward Mountague ; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that negociation ; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them ; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet ; of which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses over land, to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found Sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the King so totally crushed, and the Rump Parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that the Admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return “ by his scarcity of victual,
“ which must have failed, if he had stayed till the
“ winter

"winter had shut him up in the Sound;" and his return was resolved upon the joint advice of the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the Parliament, and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that Mountague went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the Parliament, and General Monk's march into England, and till near the time that the name and title of that Parliament was totally abolished and extinguished; and then the secluded members being restored, called him to resume the command of the fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good symptoms in the state, raised his Majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his Majesty, of the General, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The General's counsels at this time,

The General was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the King's party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found,

found, in his every day's discourses in the city, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation, that did not comprehend his interest, and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his Majesty's power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the Crown, or of Bishops, or of Delinquents; and nobody spoke more favourably, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland House in a conference with that Earl, the Earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate Presbyterian party; who, most of them, would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full rights, and the Church to its possessions. In this conference, the King's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the General insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the King, that it would not be safe for them

He had a
conference
with divers
at North-
umberland
House.

then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely, with Sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcilable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party, which desired not to preserve any face of government in the Church, or uniformity in the public exercise of religion. This made the lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the General, and jealous of his inclinations.

He consults
with Mr.
Morrice.

There was, at this time, in much conversation and trust with the General, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts; and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the King, if he had not good affections for him; which they who knew him best, believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his estate in that country, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the General consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "he found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the King, but upon such conditions as must be very ungrateful, if possible to be received;" and the London ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the Covenant being

new

new printed, and, by order, fixed up in all churches, they, in their sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the people should return to their allegiance.

That which wrought most upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all counties for members to serve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and detest the government that succeeded: so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controlled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections of the West, "where the King's restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of few or no members to serve for Cornwall, or Devonshire, but such, who, they were confident, would contribute all they could to invite the King to return. And when that subject was once upon the stage, they who concurred with most frankness would find most credit; and they who opposed it would be overborne with lasting reproach." When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance that design; and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the

Parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsels and contrivance.

There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a servant of eminent trust to the King, Sir John Greenvil, who, from the time of the surrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his estate, and sometimes his liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the General into Scotland the clergyman, his brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his Majesty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt; who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the General was allied; and he had been obliged to his father, Sir Bevil Greenvil; who lost his life at the battle of Lansdown for the King, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend, Mr. Morrice; who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

Sir John
Greenvil
introduced
to the Ge-
neral by
Mr. Mor-
rice.

The General was content, that Sir John Greenvil should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the King; with whom, he presumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write to the King, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. Morrice, and to take short memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer

" to

“ to him in discourse; which when he had done, he
 “ would himself confer with him again at an hour he
 “ should appoint.” And so he retired hastily out of the
 room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder
 at his absence.

That which Mr. Morrice communicated to Greenvil,
 was, after he had enlarged upon “ the perplexity the
 “ General was in, by the several humours and factions
 “ which prevailed, and that he durst not trust any offi-
 “ cer of his own army, or any friend but himself, with
 “ his own secret purposes;” he advised, “ that the
 “ King should write a letter to the General; in which,
 “ after kind and gracious expressions, he should desire
 “ him to deliver the inclosed letter and declaration to
 “ the Parliament;” the particular heads and materials
 for which letter and declaration, Morrice discoursed to
 him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and
 to comply with every man’s humour, and indeed to suf-
 fer every man to enjoy what he would.

After Sir John Greenvil had enough discoursed all
 particulars with him, and taken such short memorials
 for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or
 two he was brought with the same wariness, and in
 another place, to the General; to whom he read the
 short notes he had taken; to which little was added: The trans-
 actions be-
 tween the
 General,
 Morrice,
 and Green-
 vil.
 and the General said, “ that if the King writ to that
 “ purpose, when he brought the letter to him, he would
 “ keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to deliver
 “ it, or should think of another way to serve his Ma-
 “ jesty.” Only he added another particular, as an ad-
 vice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to,
 which was, his Majesty’s present remove out of Flanders.
 He undertook to know, that the Spaniard had no pur-
 pose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends

were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his Majesty would make haste to Breda, and that, for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from Breda;" and he enjoined Sir John Grenvil "not to return, till he had himself seen the King out of the dominions of Flanders." Thus instructed, he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Brussels.

Thus instructed, Sir J. Grenvil goes over to Brussels with Mr. Mordaunt.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the King, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniard looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the several animosities and emulations of the different factions among themselves; a contention only between the Presbyterian-Republicans on one side, and the Independent and Levelling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the state, without the least reference to the King's interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore Don Alonzo, by his Irish agents, (who made him believe any thing), continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured, would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the King, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with

with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Brussels; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person, who was entrusted by him, into Zealand to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negociation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the King, and suffered him to be without that small supply, which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the Spanish ministers, when Mr. Mordaunt and Sir John Greenvil came to Brussels. And Don Alonzo had so fully possessed the Court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the Chancellor, in his letters to Sir Harry Bennet, his Majesty's resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the King, he answered plainly, "that he durst not communicate any of those letters to the ministers there; who would laugh at him for abusing them, since they looked upon all those hopes of the King as imaginary, and without foundation of sense, and upon his condition as most deplorable, and absolutely desperate."

When Sir John Greenvil had at large informed his Majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the General's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his Majesty was very glad that the General had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held

Sir John Greenvil gives the King an account of his negociation with the General.

The King's deliberations upon the terms proposed by the General.

in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the Crown and Church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared Delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his Majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour, nor his conscience, that those who had sat as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was advised, "that there might be no exception; or "that above four might not be excepted; because," it was alleged, "that some of them had facilitated the "General's march by falling from Lambert, and others "had barefaced advanced the King's service very "much."

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the General's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his Majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the wishes and counsel of the General, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a
general

general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the Parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his Majesty obliged.

The advice for his Majesty's remove out of Flanders presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to Holland; where he had been as unkindly used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But besides the authority which the General's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his Majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the King; and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions: Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two Crowns, the King had sent to Lockhart, the Governor, and General of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the King), and by the uncertainty of Lockhart's own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majesty into that garrison; which might be facilitated by his Majesty's troops, if he did not think his

OWN

own soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the trust he had received, "and the indecency of breaking it; though," he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the Council of State, for his relation and alliance to Cromwell, "that he expected every day to be removed from that "command;" as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts, and of honour), or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottish, but in his own family), certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the King, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him Marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his Majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

The King was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the Parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that parricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder
unexamined

unexamined and unpunished ; which the more disposed the King to depend upon their virtue and justice.

When the summons were sent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a House of Peers ; nor had the General intimated any such thing to Sir John Greenvil ; nor did Sir John himself, or Mr. Mordaunt, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the House of Commons ; and likewise another to the fleet ; and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London ; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his authority

When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the King, which he resolved to send by Sir John Greenvil to the General, (Greenvil's and Mordaunt's being in Bruffels being unknown ; they, attending his Majesty only in the night at the Chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any), his Majesty visited the Marquis of Carracena, and told him, "that he intended the next day to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to spend two or three days with his sister the Princess of Orange ;" to whom the Dukes of York and Gloucester were already gone, to acquaint her with the King's purpose ; and his Majesty likewise, in confidence, informed him, "that there were some persons come from England, who would not venture to come to Bruffels, from whom he expected some propositions and informations, which might prove beneficial to him ; which obliged him to make that journey to confer with them."

The letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General advised.

The King declares to the Marquis of Carracena, "that he intended to go for some days to Breda, to meet his sister."

The

The Marquis seemed to think that of little moment ; and said, " that Don Alonzo expected every day to receive assurance, that the Levellers would unite themselves to the King's interest, upon more moderate conditions than they had hitherto made ;" but desired his Majesty, " that the Duke of York might hasten his journey into Spain, to receive the command that was there reserved for him ;" and the King desired him, " that the forces he had promised for his service might be ready against his return to be embarked upon the first appearance of a hopeful occasion." So they parted ; and his Majesty went the next day to Antwerp, with that small retinue he used to travel with.

The Spaniards' design to seize his Majesty, discovered.

His departure was some hours earlier than the Marquis imagined ; and the reason of it was this : in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, came at that time to Don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the Lord Chancellor's lodgings, and finding his Secretary in his own room, told him, " he must needs speak presently with his lord ; for he had something to impart to him that concerned the King's life." The Chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted ; and the poor man trembling told him, " that his lord Don Alonzo and the Marquis of Carracena had been long together that evening ; and, that himself had overheard them saying something of sending a guard to attend the King : that, about an hour after, they parted ; and the Marquis sent a paper to Don Alonzo ; who, when he went to bed, laid it on his table : that himself, who lay in his master's ante-chamber, looked into the paper, when his master was in bed ; and, seeing what it was, had brought it to the Chancellor." It imported an order to an officer to attend the King with a party of horse, for a guard
wherever

wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before), but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the town. As soon as the Chancellor had read the order, he sent his Secretary with it to the King; who was in bed likewise; and his Majesty having read it, the Secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call up his Majesty's Querry, Sir William Armorer; and to him his Majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy, "that he would be gone at three of the clock that morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of Ormond, Sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and enquire for the King; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his Majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish Governor.

As soon as his Majesty came into the States' dominions, which was about the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to Sir John Greenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, "that he had seen his Majesty out of Flanders") all those dispatches, which were prepared, and dated, as from Breda, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his Majesty was to be that night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the General, upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the originals, choose whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his Majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

Sir

The King goes towards Breda, and delivers to Sir John Greenvil the letters prepared.

Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the King, "that though he had no order to propose it directly to his Majesty; yet he could assure him, it would be the most grateful and obliging thing his Majesty could do towards the General, if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as soon as he came into England, he would bestow the office of one of the Secretaries of State upon Mr. Morrice; who was as well qualified for it, as any man who had not been versed in the knowledge of foreign affairs." One of those places was then void by the Earl of Bristol's becoming Roman Catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his Majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his Majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to the General. With these dispatches Sir John Greenvil, and Mr. Mordaunt, who privately expected his return at Antwerp, made what haste they could towards England; and the King went that night to Breda. The letters which the King writ to the General, and to the House of Commons, and the other letters, with the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

Sir John Greenvil and Mr. Mordaunt return towards England.

To our trusty and well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the President, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his command.

" Charles R.

The letter of the King to the General and the army.

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: It cannot be believed, but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours to improve the affections of our good subjects at home,

“ home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and
“ allies abroad, for the recovery of that right, which, by
“ the laws of God and man, is unquestionable ; and of
“ which we have been so long dispossessed by such
“ force, and with those circumstances, as we do not de-
“ sire to aggravate by any sharp expressions ; but ra-
“ ther wish, that the memory of what is past may be
“ buried to the world. That we have more endea-
“ voured to prepare and to improve the affections of
“ our subjects at home for our restoration, than to pro-
“ cure assistance from abroad to invade either of our
“ kingdoms, is as manifest to the world. And we can-
“ not give a better evidence that we are still of the
“ same mind, than in this conjuncture ; when common
“ reason must satisfy all men, that we cannot be without
“ assistance from abroad, we choose rather to send to
“ you, who have it in your power to prevent that ruin
“ and desolation which a war would bring upon the
“ nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the
“ peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy, to
“ your virtue ; and to acknowledge that your armies
“ have complied with their obligations, for which they
“ were first raised, for the preservation of the Protestant
“ religion, the honour and dignity of the King, the
“ privileges of Parliament, the liberty and property of
“ the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land ;
“ and that you have vindicated that trust, which others
“ most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much
“ we desire and resolve to contribute to those good
“ ends, will appear to you by our inclosed Declaration ;
“ which we desire you to cause to be published for the
“ information and satisfaction of all good subjects, who
“ do not desire a farther effusion of precious Christian
“ blood, but to have their peace and security founded
“ upon

“ upon that which can only support it, an unity of af-
“ fections amongst ourselves, an equal administration of
“ justice to men, restoring Parliaments to a full capa-
“ city of providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of
“ the land to their due veneration.

“ You have been yourselves witnesses of so many re-
“ volutions, and have had so much experience, how far
“ any power and authority that is only assumed by pas-
“ sion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is
“ from providing for the happiness and peace of the
“ people, or from receiving any obedience from them,
“ (without which no government can provide for them),
“ that you may very reasonably believe, that God hath
“ not been so well pleased with the attempts that have
“ been made, since he hath usually increased the confu-
“ sion, by giving all the success that hath been desired,
“ and brought that to pass without effect, which the de-
“ signers have proposed as the best means to settle and
“ compose the nation: and therefore we cannot but
“ hope and believe, that you will concur with us in the
“ remedy we have applied; which, to human under-
“ standing, is only proper for the ills we all groan
“ under; and that you will make yourselves the blessed
“ instruments to bring this blessing of peace and recon-
“ ciliation upon King and people; it being the usual
“ method in which divine Providence delighteth itself,
“ to use and sanctify those very means, which ill men
“ design for the satisfaction of private and particular
“ ends and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to
“ wholesome and public ends, and to establish that
“ good which is most contrary to the designers; which
“ is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kind-
“ ness to a nation that can be given in this world. How
“ far we resolve to preserve your interests, and reward
“ you

“ your services, we refer to our Declaration ; and we
 “ hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to
 “ us, and to your native country ; whose happiness
 “ cannot be separated from each other.

“ We have entrusted our well-beloved servant Sir
 “ John Greenvil, one of the Gentlemen of our Bedcham-
 “ ber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an ac-
 “ count of your reception of it, and to desire you, in
 “ our name, that it may be published. And so we bid
 “ you farewell.”

*Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th of April,
 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved, the Speaker of the House
 of Commons.*

“ *Charles R.*

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: In The letter to the House of Commons.
 “ these great and insupportable afflictions and cala-
 “ mities, under which the poor nation hath been so
 “ long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted,
 “ we cannot think of a more natural and proper re-
 “ medy, than to resort to those for counsel and advice,
 “ who have seen and observed the first beginning of
 “ our miseries, the progress from bad to worse, and the
 “ mistakes and misunderstandings, which have been
 “ produced, and contributed to inconveniences which
 “ were not intended ; and after so many revolutions, and
 “ the observation of what hath attended them, are now
 “ trusted by our good subjects to repair the breaches
 “ which are made, and to provide proper remedies for
 “ those evils, and for the lasting peace, happiness, and
 “ security of the kingdom.

“ We do assure you upon our royal word, that none

“ of our predeceffors have had a greater efteem of Parliaments, than we have in our judgment, as well as
“ from our obligation; we do believe them to be fo
“ vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and fo
“ neceffary for the government of it, that we well
“ know neither Prince nor people can be in any tolerable
“ degree happy without them; and therefore you may
“ be confident, that we fhall always look upon their
“ counfels, as the beft we can receive; and fhall be as
“ tender of their privileges, and as careful to preferve
“ and protect them, as of that which is moft near
“ to ourfelf, and moft neceffary for our own prefervation.

“ And as this is our opinion of Parliaments, that
“ their authority is moft neceffary for the government
“ of the kingdom; fo we are moft confident, that you
“ believe, and find, that the prefervation of the King’s
“ authority is as neceffary for the prefervation of Parliaments; and that it is not the name, but the right
“ constitution of them, which can prepare and apply
“ proper remedies for thofe evils which are grievous to
“ the people, and which can thereby eftablifh their
“ peace and fecurity. And therefore we have not the
“ leaft doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as
“ jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour, or
“ impair our authority, as of your own liberty and
“ property; which is beft preferved by preferving the
“ other.

“ How far we have trusted you in this great affair,
“ and how much it is in your power to reftore the nation to all that it hath loft, and to redeem it from any
“ infamy it hath undergone, and to make the King and
“ people as happy as they ought to be; you will find
“ by our inclofed Declaration; a copy of which we
“ have

“ have likewise sent to the House of Peers : and you
 “ will easily believe, that we would not voluntarily, and
 “ of ourself, have reposed so great a trust in you, but
 “ upon an entire confidence that you will not abuse it,
 “ and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with
 “ such due consideration of us who have trusted you,
 “ that we shall not be ashamed of declining other assist-
 “ ance, (which we have assurance of), and repairing to
 “ you for more natural and proper remedies for the
 “ evils we would be freed from ; nor sorry, that we
 “ have bound up our own interests so entirely with that
 “ of our subjects, as that we refer it to the same persons
 “ to take care of us, who are trusted to provide for
 “ them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate
 “ men, and good patriots, who will raise up those banks
 “ and fences which have been cast down, and who will
 “ most reasonably hope, that the same prosperity will
 “ again spring from those roots, from which it hath
 “ heretofore and always grown ; nor can we apprehend
 “ that you will propose any thing to us, or expect any
 “ thing from us, but what we are as ready to give, as
 “ you to receive.

“ If you desire the advancement and propagation of
 “ the Protestant religion, we have, by our constant pro-
 “ fession, and practice of it, given sufficient testimony
 “ to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of
 “ the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obli-
 “ gations from those of a contrary profession, (of both
 “ which we have had an abundant evidence), could
 “ in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve
 “ from it ; and nothing can be proposed to manifest
 “ our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not
 “ readily consent. And we hope, in due time, ourself
 “ to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of

“ it, that will satisfy the world, that we have always
“ made it both our care and our study, and have
“ enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

“ If you desire security for those who, in these calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other's rights, we have left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied; which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that peace, which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem it, and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be.

“ If you desire that reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that justice may be equally and impartially administered to all men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in power and authority should be so too.

“ In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that may make the kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and upon this confidence and assurance, we have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do
“ shortly),

“ shortly), will appear to you very agreeable to what we
 “ have professed; and we hope, that we have made that
 “ right Christian use of our affliction, and that the ob-
 “ servation and experience we have had in other coun-
 “ tries, have been such, as that we, and, we hope, all
 “ our subjects, shall be the better for what we have
 “ seen and suffered.

“ We shall add no more, but our prayers to Al-
 “ mighty God, that he will so bless your counsels, and
 “ direct your endeavours, that his glory and worship
 “ may be provided for; and the peace, honour, and
 “ happiness of the nation may be established upon those
 “ foundations which can best support it. And so we
 “ bid you farewell.”

*Given at our Court at Breda, this 1st day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

His Majesty's Declaration.

“ Charles R.

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, The King's
 Declaration.
 “ Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith,
 “ &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree or
 “ quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction
 “ and confusion, which is spread over the whole king-
 “ dom, doth not awaken all men to a desire, and long-
 “ ing, that those wounds, which have so many years to-
 “ gether been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we
 “ can say will be to no purpose. However, after this
 “ long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare,
 “ how much we desire to contribute thereunto: and
 “ that, as we can never give over the hope, in good
 “ time, to obtain the possession of that right, which
 “ God and nature hath made our due; so we do make

“ it our daily suit to the divine Providence, that he will,
“ in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long
“ misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet
“ and peaceable possession of that our right, with as lit-
“ tle blood and damage to our people as is possible ;
“ nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that
“ all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a
“ full and entire administration of justice throughout the
“ land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted
“ and deserved.

“ And to the end that fear of punishment may not
“ engage any conscious to themselves of what is past, to
“ a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the
“ quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration
“ both of King, and Peers, and people, to their just, an-
“ cient, and fundamental rights ; we do by these pre-
“ sents declare, that we do grant a free and general par-
“ don, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under
“ our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects of what
“ degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after
“ the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our
“ grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare
“ their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and
“ obedience of good subjects ; excepting only such per-
“ sons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament.
“ Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty
“ soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given
“ by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever
“ committed against us, or our royal father, before the
“ publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be
“ brought in question, against any of them, to the least
“ indamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties,
“ or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so
“ much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any
“ reproach,

“ reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest of our
 “ best subjects ; we desiring, and ordaining, that hence-
 “ forward all notes of discord, separation, and difference
 “ of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects;
 “ whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among
 “ themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement
 “ of our just rights, and theirs, in a free Parliament; by
 “ which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

“ And because the passion and uncharitableness of the
 “ times have produced several opinions in religion, by
 “ which men are engaged in parties and animosities
 “ against each other ; which, when they shall hereafter
 “ unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed,
 “ or better understood ; we do declare a liberty to ten-
 “ der consciences ; and that no man shall be disquieted,
 “ or called in question, for differences of opinion in
 “ matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of
 “ the kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to consent
 “ to such an act of Parliament, as, upon mature delibe-
 “ ration, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that
 “ indulgence.

“ And because in the continued distractions of so
 “ many years, and so many and great revolutions, many
 “ grants and purchases of estates have been made to and
 “ by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now
 “ possessed of the same, and who may be liable to ac-
 “ tions at law, upon several titles ; we are likewise will-
 “ ing that all such differences, and all things relating to
 “ such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined
 “ in Parliament ; which can best provide for the just
 “ satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

“ And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to
 “ consent to any act or acts of Parliament to the pur-
 “ poses aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all ar-

“rears due to the officers and foldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.”

Given under our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, the 14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

“Charles R.

His Majesty
Charles the Second
King of
England.

“Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and trusty and right well-beloved; we greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise ourself an end of our common sufferings and calamities, and that our own just power and authority will, with God's blessing, be restored to us, than that you are again acknowledged to have that authority and jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your birth, and the fundamental laws of the land: and we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your help, in the composing the confounding distempers and distractions of the kingdom; in which your sufferings are next to those we have undergone ourself; and therefore you cannot but be the most proper counsellors for removing those mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a trust we repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed peace and security for the kingdom, will appear to you by our inclosed Declaration; which trust we are most confident you will discharge with that justice and wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your experience how one violation succeeds another, when the known relations

“and

“ and rules of justice are once transgressed, you will be
 “ as jealous for the rights of the Crown, and for the ho-
 “ nour of your King, as for yourselves : and then you
 “ cannot but discharge your trust with good success, and
 “ provide for and establish the peace, happiness, and
 “ honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that
 “ foundation which can only support it ; and we shall
 “ be all happy in each other ; and as the whole king-
 “ dom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold our-
 “ self obliged in an especial manner to thank you in par-
 “ ticular, according to the affection you shall express
 “ towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon
 “ this subject, because we have likewise writ to the
 “ House of Commons ; which we suppose they will
 “ communicate to you. And we pray God to bless
 “ your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And so
 “ we bid you very heartily farewell.”

*Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved General Monk and Ge-
 neral Mountague, Generals at sea, to be communicated
 to the fleet.*

“ Charles R.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It is His Ma-
 “ no small comfort to us, after so long and great trou- ^{jefty's letter}
 “ bles and miseries, which the whole nation hath groaned _{to the fleet.}
 “ under ; and after so great revolutions, which have still
 “ increased those miseries, to hear that the fleet and
 “ ships, which are the walls of the kingdom, are put
 “ under the command of two persons so well disposed
 “ to, and concerned in, the peace and happiness of the
 “ kingdom, as we believe you to be ; and that the offi-
 “ cers

“cers and seamen under your command are more inclined to return to their duty to us, and put a period to these distempers and distractions, which have so impoverished and dishonoured the nation, than to widen the breach, and to raise their fortunes by rapine and violence ; which gives us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same plaister that made the flesh raw ; that he will proceed in the same method in pouring his blessings upon us, which he was pleased to use, when he began to afflict us ; and that the manifestation of the good affection of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the peace of the nation, may be the prologue to that peace, which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their predecessors ; which would be such a blessing upon us all, that we should not be less delighted with the manner, than the matter of it.

“In this hope and confidence, we have sent the inclosed Declaration to you ; by which you may discern, how much we are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the general and public peace: in which, as no man can be more, or so much, concerned, so no man can be more solicitous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said Declaration to be published to all the officers and seamen of the fleet ; to the end, that they may plainly discern, how much we have put it into their power to provide for the peace and happiness of the nation, who have been always understood by them to be the best and most proper counsellors for those good ends : and you are likewise farther to declare to them, that we have the same gracious purpose towards them, which we have expressed towards the army at land ; and will
“be

“ be as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears
 “ due to them, and for rewarding them according to
 “ their several merits, as we have expressed to the other;
 “ and we will always take so particular a care of them
 “ and their condition, as shall manifest our kindness to-
 “ wards them. And so depending upon God’s blessing,
 “ for infusing those good resolutions into your and their
 “ hearts, which are best for us all; we bid you fare-
 “ well.”

*Given at our Court at Breda, this 4th day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Alder-
 men, and Common Council, of our city of London.*

“ Charles R.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In His Majes-
 “ these great revolutions of late, happened in that our ty’s letter to
 “ kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of all the the Lord
 “ world, there is none that we have looked upon with Mayor and
 “ more comfort, than the so frequent and public mani- Aldermen
 “ festations of their affections to us in the city of Lon- of the city
 “ don; which hath exceedingly raised our spirits, and of London.
 “ which, no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of
 “ God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation;
 “ which hath been encouraged by you, and your good
 “ example, to assert that government under which it
 “ hath, so many hundred years, enjoyed as great feli-
 “ city as any nation in Europe; and to discountenance
 “ the imaginations of those who would subject our sub-
 “ jects to a government they have not yet devised,
 “ and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill
 “ men, who would introduce the most arbitrary and ty-
 “ rannical power that was ever yet heard of. How
 “ long

“ long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English nation ; which we hope is now providing for its own security and redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those inventions.

“ How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the peace and happiness of our subjects without effusion of blood ; and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us by a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the inclosed Declaration ; which, together with this our letter, we have entrusted our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the Lord Viscount Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir John Greenvil, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our Bedchamber, to deliver to you ; to the end, that you, and all the rest of our good subjects of that our city of London, (to whom we desire it should be published), may know, how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom, should be raised upon any other foundation than the affections and hearts of our subjects, and their own consents.

“ We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws to that reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native

" tive country, and to advance the honour of it ; and as
 " we have that full affection for the kingdom in gene-
 " ral, so we would not be thought to be without some
 " extraordinary kindness for our native city in that
 " particular ; which we shall manifest on all occasions,
 " not only by renewing their charter, and confirming
 " all those privileges which they have received from our
 " predecessors, but by adding and granting any new
 " favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, and
 " honour of that our native city ; for which we will be
 " so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will, in
 " due time, receive some benefit and advantage in all
 " those respects, even from our own observation and
 " experience abroad. And we are most confident, we
 " shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all
 " possible service from your affections : and so we bid
 " you farewell."

*Given at our Court at Breda, the 4th day of April,
 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

The two gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the King returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the copies of the several dispatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King ; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of King, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his Majesty : yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr. Morrice only excepted), that he had received any letter from

Sir John
 Grenvil
 arrives in
 England,
 and com-
 municates
 the letters
 to the Ge-
 neral.
 The Gene-
 ral's beha-
 viour after
 that time,

from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

Declara-
tions of the
King's
party at this
time ;
which had
great effect.

There happened at the same time a concurrence, which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction that hindered the universal consent to call in the King, was the conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful and barbarous usage, which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the King's restoration, with extreme licence and insolence ; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the King's party caused a declaration to be prepared ; in which (after their acknowledgments and thanks to the General, "for having, next "under the divine Providence, so far conducted these "nations towards a happy recovery of their laws and "ancient government,") they sincerely professed, "that "they reflected on their past sufferings as from the "hand of God ; and therefore did not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons whatsoever, who had been any way instrumental in them ; "and that, if the indiscretion of any particular persons "should transport them to expressions contrary to this "their general sense, they utterly disclaimed them." They farther promised, "by their quiet and peaceable "behaviour, to testify their submission to the Council of "State, in expectation of the future Parliament ; on "whose wisdom, they trusted, God would give such a
" blessing,

“ blessing, as might produce a perfect settlement both
 “ in Church and State.” And lastly they declared,
 “ that, as the General had not chosen the sandy foun-
 “ dations of self-government, but the firm rock of na-
 “ tional interest, whereon to frame a settlement, so it
 “ was their hope and prayer, that, when the building
 “ should come to be raised, it might not, like Rome,
 “ have the beginning in the blood of brethren ; nor,
 “ like Babel, be interrupted by confusion of tongues ;
 “ but that all might speak one language, and be of one
 “ name ; that all mention of parties and factions, and
 “ all rancour and animosities may be thrown in, and
 “ buried, like rubbish under the foundation.”

These professions, or to the same purpose, under the title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had served the late King, or his present Majesty, or adhered to the royal party in such a city or county, which was named, were signed by all the considerable persons therein ; as this that we have here mentioned was subscribed by great numbers in and about the cities of London and Westminster ; and so were several others from other places ; and then all printed with their names, and published to the view of the world ; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

Nothing hath been of late said of Ireland ; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing service for the King, were under as severe a captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they

The affairs of Ireland for some years past till this time.

they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them transported into foreign parts, for the service of the two Kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and severities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorse prosecuted by the English, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out
of

of their lands to support their lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles which had been granted were not punctually observed to them; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the English, under some former grants, or other titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which reproach the Irish had taken so heavily from the Earl of Strafford, when they were equally free with the English, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell to the Rump Parliament, as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army, as in the Council of State, and amongst the civil magistrates. The Lord Broghill, who was President of Munster, and of a very great interest, and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the King; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his Majesty service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir Charles Coot, who was President of Connaught, and had a good command, and interest in the army, was a man of less guilt, and more courage, and impa-

tience to serve the King. He sent over Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish gentleman of good affection to the King, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman Sir Charles Coot sent to Brussels to the Marquis of Ormond, "that he might assure his Majesty of his affection and duty; and that, if his Majesty would vouchsafe himself to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the state, in Ireland, under the character of Presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the King's judges, in their places; yet they were so generally odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient."

Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Brussels, before the King had any assurance or confident hope of the General, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that, if what Sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men about the Court would have been very solicitous for his Majesty's going into Ireland. But his Majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed Sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the state of affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and General Monk's marching towards London, the Lord Broghill

Broghill and Sir Charles Coot, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other persons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always against the King, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert, or the Rump Parliament, and submitted to the orders of General Monk, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the King; and so, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at Westminster, all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the General and the Parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

The Parliament met upon the five and twentieth day <sup>The Parlia-
ment met</sup> of April; of which the General was returned a member, ^{April 25.} to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon; Sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen <sup>Sir Harbot-
tle Grim-
stone
chosen
Speaker.</sup> Speaker, who had been a member of the Long Parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them, till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with that King, and behaved himself so well, that his Majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the King's concessions; and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded the House. His election to be Speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun <sup>Their first
proceed-
ings.</sup> chiefly with bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late King. And in these generals they spent the first days of sitting; no man having the courage, how loyal soever their

wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the General was of; who could only protect such a proposition from being penal to the person that made it, by the former ordinances of the Rump Parliament.

May the first, the General acquaints the House of Sir J. Greenville's bringing him a letter from the King.

Sir John Greenville is called in, and delivers the letter to the House of Commons.

Both letters, and the Declaration, read.

Received with universal joy.

A committee appointed to prepare an answer.

After the General had well surveyed the temper of the House, upon the first of May he came into the House, and told them, "one Sir John Greenville, who was a servant of the King's, had brought him a letter from his Majesty; which he had in his hand, but would not presume to open it without their direction; and that the same gentleman was at the door, and had a letter to the House:" which was no sooner said, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the King his master, having been lately with him at Breda, to deliver that letter to the House:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the Serjeant to be delivered to the Speaker, he withdrew.

The House immediately called to have both letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of; and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and though there were some members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the House, nor with the argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardness to appear less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a committee to prepare an answer to his Majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the House

House had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his Majesty; and that the House would give a speedy answer to his Majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered, at the same time, that both his Majesty's letters, that to the House, and that to the General, with his Majesty's Declaration therein inclosed, and the resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

All ordered
to be
printed.

This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the King, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The Lords, when they saw what spirit the House of Commons was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but made haste into their House without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from Sir John Greenvil which his Majesty had directed to them; and they received it with the same duty and acknowledgment. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, were likewise transported with the King's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency; and entered into close deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army and fleet, upon the sight of the letters to their Generals, and his Majesty's Declaration, thought themselves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his Majesty's reformation; and made those vows, and published such declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their Generals caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the business, which he now owned himself to have undertaken, with wonder-

Sir John
Greenvil
delivers the
letter to the
House of
Lords.

The Lord
Mayor, &c.
receive
their letter
with the
same duty:
so does the
army and
fleet.

ful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.

The committee, who were appointed by the House of Commons to prepare an answer to the King's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men, who were well contented that the King should be invited to return: but some thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the treaty ought first to be made with the King, and conditions of security agreed on, before his Majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the Parliament, had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth, in the time of King Harry the third, to which the King should be sworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian party, of which there were many members in Parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations: they said, "they had proceeded too far already in their vote upon the receipt of the letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder expressions of their duty." In the end, after some days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians

rians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that this answer should be returned to his Majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

“ Most Royal Sovereign,

“ We your Majesty’s most loyal subjects, the Com-
 mons of England assembled in Parliament, do, with
 “ all humbleness, present unto your Majesty the un-
 “ feigned thankfulness of our hearts, for those gracious
 “ expressions of piety, and goodness, and love to us,
 “ and the nations under your dominion, which your
 “ Majesty’s letter of the 14th of April, dated from Breda,
 “ together with the Declaration inclosed in it of the same
 “ date, do so evidently contain. For which we do, in
 “ the first place, look up to the great King of kings,
 “ and bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into
 “ the heart of our King, to make him glorious in the eyes
 “ of his people; as those great deliverances, which that
 “ divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal person,
 “ from many dangers, and the support which he hath
 “ given to your heroic and princely mind under various
 “ trials, make it appear to all the world that you are
 “ precious in his sight. And give us leave to say, that
 “ as your Majesty is pleased to declare your confidence
 “ in Parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your
 “ judgment, and character of them, that they are so
 “ necessary for the government of the kingdom, that
 “ neither Prince nor people can be in any tolerable de-
 “ gree happy without them, and therefore say, that you
 “ will hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their
 “ privileges, and careful to preserve and protect them;
 “ so we trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to af-
 “ firm,

The answer
 of the
 House of
 Commons
 to the King.

“ firm, that your Majesty will not be deceived in us,
“ and that we will never depart from that fidelity which
“ we owe unto your Majesty, that zeal which we bear
“ unto your service, and a constant endeavour to ad-
“ vance your honour and greatness.

“ And we beseech your Majesty, we may add this
“ farther for the vindication of Parliaments, and even
“ of the last Parliament, convened under your royal fa-
“ ther of happy memory, when, as your Majesty well
“ observes, through mistakes, and misunderstandings,
“ many inconveniences were produced, which were not
“ intended, that those very inconveniences could not
“ have been brought upon us by those persons who had
“ designed them, without violating the Parliament itself.
“ For they well knew it was not possible to do a violence
“ to that sacred Person, whilst the Parliament, which
“ had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety
“ of that Person, remained entire. Surely, Sir, as the
“ persons of our Kings have ever been dear unto Parlia-
“ ments, so we cannot think of that horrid act com-
“ mitted against the precious life of our late Sovereign,
“ but with such a detestation and abhorrency, as we
“ want words to express it; and, next to wishing it had
“ never been, we wish it may never be remembered by
“ your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sorrow,
“ as it will never be remembered by us, but with that
“ grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being
“ the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any
“ of the English nation, an offence to all the Protestant
“ churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the
“ truth of religion here at home; though both profes-
“ sion, and true professors, and the nation itself, as well as
“ the Parliament, were most innocent of it; it having
“ been only the contrivance and act of some few ambi-
“ tious

“ tious and bloody persons, and such others, as by their
“ influence were misled. And as we hope and pray,
“ that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the
“ evil consequences thereof, unto the land, whose divine
“ justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we
“ cannot but give due praise to your Majesty’s goodness,
“ who are pleased to entertain such reconciled and re-
“ conciling thoughts, and with them not only meet,
“ but as it were prevent your Parliament and people,
“ proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting
“ the Parliament to consider farther, and advise your
“ Majesty, what may be necessary to restore the nation
“ to what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and
“ fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by the
“ advancement of religion, the security of our laws, li-
“ berties, and estates, and the removing all jealousies
“ and animosities, which may render our peace less cer-
“ tain and durable. Wherein your Majesty gives a large
“ evidence of your great wisdom ; judging aright, that,
“ after so high a distemper, and such an universal shak-
“ ing of the very foundations, great care must be had to
“ repair the breaches, and much circumspection and
“ industry used to provide things necessary for the
“ strengthening of those repairs, and preventing what-
“ soever may disturb or weaken them.

“ We shall immediately apply ourselves to the prepar-
“ ing of these things ; and, in a very short time, we
“ hope to be able to present them to your Majesty ;
“ and for the present do, with all humble thankfulness,
“ acknowledge your grace and favour in assuring us of
“ your royal concurrence with us, and saying, that we
“ shall not expect any thing from you, but what you
“ will be as ready to give, as we to receive. And we
“ cannot doubt of your Majesty’s effectual performance,
“ since

“ since your own princely judgment hath prompted
“ unto you the necessity of doing such things ; and
“ your piety and goodness hath carried you to a free
“ tender of them to your faithful Parliament. You
“ speak as a gracious King, and we will do what befits
“ dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects ; who are yet more
“ engaged to honour and highly esteem your Majesty,
“ for your declining, as you were pleased to say, all fo-
“ reign assistance, and rather trusting to your people ;
“ who, we do assure your Majesty, will and do open
“ their arms and their hearts to receive you, and will
“ spare neither their estates, nor their lives, when your
“ service shall require it of them.

“ And we have yet more cause to enlarge our praise
“ and our prayers to God for your Majesty, that you
“ have continued unshaken in your faith ; that neither
“ the temptation of allurements, persuasions, and pro-
“ mises from seducing Papists on the one hand, nor
“ the persecution and hard usage from some seduced
“ and misguided professors of the Protestant religion on
“ the other hand, could at all prevail on your Majesty,
“ to make you forsake the Rock of Israel, the God of
“ your fathers, and the true Protestant religion, in which
“ your Majesty hath been bred ; but you have still been
“ as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with your
“ and our God, even now expressing your zeal and af-
“ fection for the Protestant religion, and your care and
“ study for the propagation thereof. This hath been a
“ rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and
“ an assurance to them that God would not forsake you ;
“ but after many trials, which should but make you
“ more precious, as gold out of the fire, would restore
“ your Majesty unto your patrimony, and people, with
“ more splendor and dignity, and make you the glory
“ of

“ of kings, and the joy of your subjects ; which is,
 “ and shall ever be, the prayer of your Majesty’s most
 “ loyal subjects, the Commons of England assembled
 “ in Parliament.”

*Which letter was signed by Sir Harbottle Grimstone,
 Speaker.*

As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, Sir <sup>This an-
 swer is de-
 livered to
 Sir John
 Greenvil.</sup> John Greenvil was appointed to attend again ; and he being brought to the bar, the Speaker stood up, and told him, “ that they need not acquaint him with what
 “ grateful hearts they had received his Majesty’s gra-
 “ cious letter ; he himself was an ear and eye witness of
 “ it : their bells and their bonfires had already begun
 “ the proclamation of his Majesty’s goodness, and of
 “ their joys ; that they had now prepared an answer to
 “ his Majesty, which should be delivered to him ; and
 “ that they did not think fit he should return to their
 “ royal Sovereign without some testimony of their re-
 “ spects to himself ; and therefore that they had or-
 “ dered five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to
 “ buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the mes-
 “ senger of so gracious a message ;” and in the name of
 the House he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a change was this, that a servant of
 the King’s, who, for near ten years together, had been
 in prisons, and under confinements, only for being the
 King’s servant, and would, but three months before,
 have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if
 he had been known to have seen the King, should be
 now rewarded for bringing a message from him. From
 this time there was such an emulation and impatience in
 Lords, and Commons, and city, and generally over the
 kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions
 of

of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the King so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.

The Lords and the Commons now conferred together, how they might with more lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his Majesty's return. They remembered, that, upon the murder of the late King, there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his successor; which so terrified the people, that they scarce dared so much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some solemn proclamation of his Majesty's undoubted right to the Crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him, which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Commons, the General having concerted all things with the city, met in Westminster Hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the King's letter; and walked into the Palace-Yard; where they all stood bare, whilst the heralds proclaimed the King. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same; and afterwards at Temple Bar; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was spent in those
acclama-

acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his Majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words :

“ Although it can no way be doubted, but that his Majesty's right and title to his crown and kingdoms The King proclaimed May 8.
 “ is and was every way completed by the death of his
 “ most royal father of glorious memory, without the
 “ ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation ; yet, since
 “ proclamations in such cases have been always used,
 “ to the end that all good subjects might, upon this
 “ occasion, testify their duty and respect, and since the
 “ armed violence, and other the calamities of many
 “ years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such
 “ opportunity, whereby we might express our loyalty
 “ and allegiance to his Majesty, we therefore, the
 “ Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament,
 “ together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and commons of the city of London, and other freemen of
 “ this kingdom now present, do, according to our duty
 “ and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously
 “ acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon
 “ the decease of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles,
 “ the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of
 “ all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to
 “ the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful undoubted succession, descend and come to his most
 “ excellent Majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of
 “ this realm ; and that, by the goodness and providence
 “ of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland,
 “ France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and
 “ un-

“undoubted King; and thereunto we most humbly
 “and faithfully do submit and oblige ourselves, our
 “heirs, and posterity for ever.”

Many addresses
 to the King.

From the time that the King came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the King, and were now as solicitous his Majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. Even before the General had declared himself, or the Parliament was assembled, some, who had late judges upon his father, sent many excuses, that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services, if they might obtain their pardon. But his Majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any propositions made on their behalf.

The particular
 case of Ingoldsby.

There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of Colonel Ingoldsby; who was in the number of the late King's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder. He, from the deposal of Richard, had declared, that he would serve the King, and told Mr. Mordaunt, “that he would perform all
 “services he could, without making any conditions;
 “and would be well content, that his Majesty, when
 “he came home, should take his head off, if he
 “thought fit; only he desired that the King might
 “know the truth of his case;” which was this.

He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the
 King;

King ; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel, but his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted Chamber ; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had fate upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the King's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table ; and said, " though he had escaped him all the " while before, he should now sign that paper as well " as they ;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, " he knew nothing of the business ;" and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence ; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could : and he said, " if his name there were compared with what " he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked " upon as his own hand."

Though his Majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon ; presuming that, if all these allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his Majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of that bloody list, which he resolved never to pardon. Nor was Ingoldsby at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, (where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition),
and

and put out that governor whom the Rump had put in ; and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered.

Mountague's message to the King.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, Admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the King, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days), he would be himself on board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majesty's orders : this was before the Parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any assurance of the General, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his Majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other ; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his Majesty.

The frequent resort of persons to Brussels, before they knew of the King's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his Majesty's servants, and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think, that the King's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to Breda than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his Majesty to remain in their dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of

no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the King, and that he had stayed longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the Marquis of Carracena sent a person of prime quality to Breda, "to invite his Majesty to return to Brussels; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful propositions from England, to which he was not willing to make any answer, without receiving his Majesty's approbation and command."

The Marquis of Carracena invites the King back to Brussels.

The King sent him word, "that he was obliged, with reference to his business in England, to stay where he was; and that he was not without hope that his affairs might succeed so well, that he should not be necessitated to return to Brussels at all." Which answer the Marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation "for the indignity that would be offered to his Catholic Majesty, if he should leave his dominions in such a manner; and therefore besought him, either to return himself thither, or that the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, or at least one of them, might come to Brussels, that the world might not believe, that his Majesty was offended with the Catholic King; who had treated him so well." When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the King and both the Dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his Catholic Majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the Marquis himself, he revenged himself upon Don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, "for his stupidity and ignorance in the affairs of England, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years ambassador in that kingdom."

The King's answer.

The Marquis invites the King again, but in vain.

Cardinal
Mazarine
persuades
the Queen
Mother of
England to
send the
Lord Jer-
myn to in-
vite the
King to
come into
France.

Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London ; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that Monk had other intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the King was removed from Bruffels to Breda, he presently persuaded the Queen Mother of England to send the Lord Jer-myn (whom the King had lately, upon his mother's desire, created Earl of St. Alban's) to invite the King " to come into France ; and to make that treaty, " which, probably, would be between the ensuing Parlia- " ment and his Majesty, in that kingdom ; which might " prove of great use and advantage to her Majesty's in- " terest and honour ; in which the power of the Cardi- " nal might be of great importance in diverting or al- " laying any insolent demands which might be made." And the Cardinal himself made the same invitation by that Lord, with professions of wonderful kindness ; and " that the most Christian King was infinitely desirous " to perform all those offices and respects to his Ma- " jesty, which he had always desired, but was never able " to accomplish till now ;" with this addition, " that if " his Majesty found that the expedition of his affairs " would not permit him to come to Paris, order and " preparations should be made for his reception at Ca- " lais, or any other place he would appoint ; where the " Queen his mother would attend him ;" with all other expressions of the highest esteem ; which the cunning of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

The Earl of St. Alban's found the King in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the instances he brought ; and was contented to return with the King's acknow-
ledgments

ledgments and excuse, "that he could not decently ^{The King's} pass through Flanders, after he had refused to return ^{answer.} "to Bruffels; and without going through those provinces, he could not well make a journey into "France." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his Majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the ministers of these two great kings, to enter into their dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

Several persons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cologne and to Bruffels, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the King; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the King, that their names, and the names of their friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By these supplies his Majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the King's letter by the General to the Parliament.

The States General congratulate the King's coming to Breda; and the States of Holland invite him to the Hague.

The King had not been many days in Breda, before the States General sent deputies of their own body to congratulate his Majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his Majesty, "that he would grace that province with his royal presence at the Hague, where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as would testify the great joy of their hearts for the blessings which divine Providence was pouring upon his head." His Majesty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with presents, and protestations, "how much they had longed and prayed for this blessed change; and magnifying their sufferings under the late tyrannical government;" when some of them had been zealous instruments and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the King, by using all civilities towards, and providing for the accommodation of the multitude of his subjects, who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly testified the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

All things being in readiness, and the States having sent

sent their yachts and other vessels, for the accommodation of his Majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the King, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place in the beginning of May, and, The King removes to the Hague. within an hour, embarked themselves on board the yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways, which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy, as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

The entrance into the Hague, and the reception The King's reception and entertainment there. there, and the conducting his Majesty to the house provided for his entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that State. The treatment of his Majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body apart, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his Majesty's commands. All the ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his Majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his behalf: so that a man would have

thought this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The English fleet comes on the coast of Holland.

The King had been very few days at the Hague, when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Scheveling; and shortly after, an officer from Admiral Mountague was sent to the King, to present his duty to him, and to the Duke of York, their High Admiral, to receive orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found Lawson and the other officers more frank in declaring their duty to the King, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his Majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The Duke of York as Admiral takes possession of the fleet.

The Duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take possession of his command; where he was received by all the officers and seamen, with all possible duty and submission, and with those acclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his Highness returned with it that night to the King, that his Majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of the late governors, and of the republic.

The ships new named.

Shortly

Shortly after, the committee of Lords and Commons arrived at the Hague; where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his Majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. From the House of Peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the Commons. The Peers were, the Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, the Lord Viscount Hereford, the Lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the Lord Brook. From the Commons were sent, the Lord Fairfax, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Castleton, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir John Hol-land, and Sir Henry Cholmeley. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the Parliament, "that his Majesty would be pleased to return, and "take the government of the kingdom into his hands; "where he should find all possible affection, duty, and "obedience, from all his subjects." And left his return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the Parliament the sum of fifty thousand pounds to his Majesty; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the Duke of York, and five thousand to the Duke of Gloucester; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. The King treated all the committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

The city of
London
send four-
teen of
their citi-
zens.

The city of London had had too great a hand in driving the father of the King from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most substantial citizens "to assure his Majesty of their fidelity, and most cheerful submission; and that they placed all their felicity, and hope of future prosperity, in the assurance of his Majesty's grace and protection; for the meriting whereof, their lives and fortunes should be always at his Majesty's disposal;" and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The King told them, "he had always had a particular affection for the city of London, the place of his birth; and was very glad, that they had now so good a part in his restoration; of which he was informed; and how much he was beholding to every one of them;" for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this money presented to the King by the Parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London, who came to the King, went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the King, that it is not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money; the custom of that country, which flourishes

rishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignations; they having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his Majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

With these commissioners from the Parliament and from the city, there came a company of their clergy-^{Divers Presbyterian divines came also,} men, to the number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton; and others, the most eminent of the Presbyterians), desired to be thought to represent that party. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a^{Their public audience of the King.} formal audience of his Majesty; where they presented their duties, and magnified the affections of themselves and their friends; who, they said, “had always, according to the obligation of their Covenant, wished his Majesty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty; which, they presumed, his Majesty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great use to him.” They thanked God “for his constancy to the Protestant religion;” and professed, “that they were no enemies to moderate episcopacy;” “only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God’s worship, which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful.”

The

The King spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and that he had no purpose to impose hard conditions upon them, with reference to their consciences: that they well knew, he had referred the settling all differences of that nature to the wisdom of the Parliament; which best knew what indulgence and toleration was necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom." But his Majesty could not be so rid of them; they desired several private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, the Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England, and the people having been used to it, and many of them having never heard it in their lives, it would be much wondered at, if his Majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it in his own chapel; whither all persons would resort; and therefore they besought him, that he would not use it entirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read, with mixture of other good prayers, which his chaplains might use.

And their private discourses also with him.

His Majesty's reply to them.

The King told them with some warmth, "that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him: that he had always used that form of service, which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them: that, when he came into England, he would not severely enquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not, he should find it used in many; but he was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel." Then they besought him with more importunity, "that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give
" great

“great offence and scandal to the people.” They found the King as inexorable in that point as in the other; he told them plainly, “that he would not be restrained himself, when he gave others so much liberty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the Church, constantly practised in England till these late ill times; that it had been still retained by him; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and undecency in the exercise of God’s worship, he would never, in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order of the Church, in which he had been bred.” Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased farther troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several rich presents made to his Majesty, the King took his leave of the States, with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved; and embarked himself on the Royal Charles; which had been before called the Naseby, but had been new christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order, of his Royal Highness the Admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of May, the fleet set sail; and, in one continued thunder of cannon, arrived near Dover so early on the six and twentieth, that his Majesty disembarked; and being received by the General at the brink of the sea, (whom he met, and embraced, with great demonstrations of affection), he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury; where
he

The King
embarks for
England.

And the
fleet sets
sail May 24.
The King
arrives and
lands at
Dover May
26, and
went to
Canterbury
that night.

he stayed the next day, being Sunday ; and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair ; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other persons of quality, to present themselves to the King ; and there his Majesty assembled his Council ; and swore the General of the Council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the Signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, and likewise to the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before), and sent it likewise by Garter, Herald and King at Arms, to Admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

May 29. he
came
through
the city to
Whitehall.

On Monday he went to Rochester ; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of May, and his birth-day, he entered London ; all the ways thither being so full of people, and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered there. Between Deptford and Southwark the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all such protestations of joy as can hardly be imagined. The concourse was so great, that the King rode in a crowd from the bridge to Whitehall ; all the companies of the city standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majesty's presence. He no sooner came to Whitehall, but the two Houses of Parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his Majesty said smilingly to some about him, " he doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long ; for he saw nobody that did not protest, he had ever wished for his return."

Where the
two Houses
waited on
him.

In

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world, could be instruments of; almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

The conclusion of the whole history.

It was but five months, since Lambert's fanatical army was scattered and confounded, and General Monk's marched into England: it was but three months, since the secluded members were restored; and, shortly after, the monstrous long Parliament finally dissolved, and rooted up: it was but a month, since the King's letters and Declaration were delivered to the new Parliament, afterwards called the Convention: on the first of May they were delivered, and his Majesty was at Whitehall on the 29th of the same month.

By these remarkable steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even make the scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the deliverance. And, after this miraculous restoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the just rights of Parliaments, no nation under heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add establishment and perpetuity to the blessings he then restored.



AN
I N D E X
TO THE
THREE VOLUMES OF THIS HISTORY.



AN
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TO THE
THREE VOLUMES OF THIS HISTORY.

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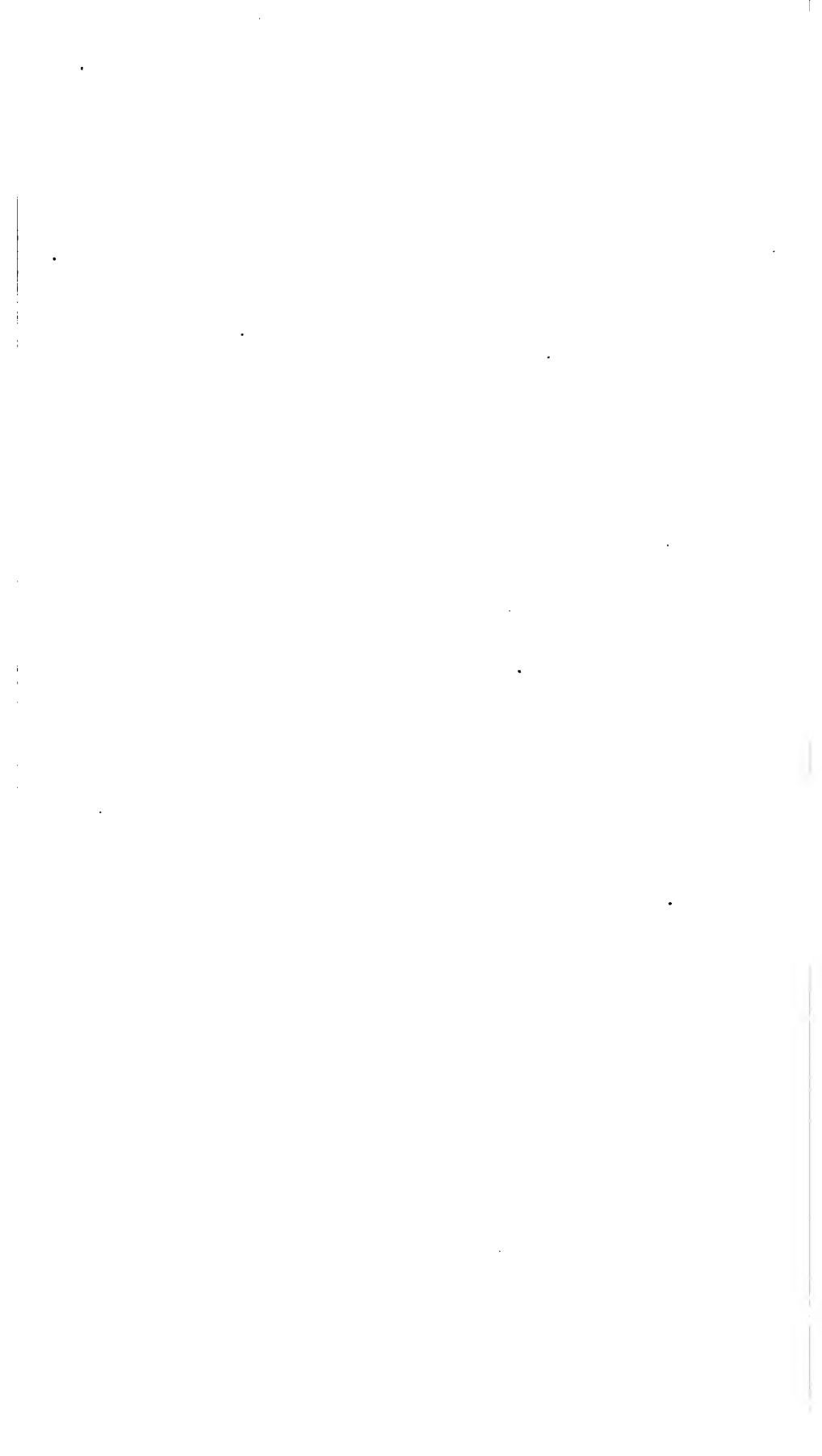
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